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sure and Business
In Western Pennsylvania
THE JOURNAL OF
JOSHUA GILPIN
1809




Joseph E. Walker, Editor

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL
AND MUSEUM COMMISSION

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Pleasure and Business
In Western Pennsylvania
THE JOURNAL OF
JOSHUA GILPIN
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Joseph E. Walker, Editor

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL
AND MUSEUM COMMISSION

HARRISBURG, 1975

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Introduction

EASTERN Pennsylvanians of means were attracted to the possibilities of profit from land speculation, trade, and industry in the trans-Appalachian valleys. As population increased in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Pittsburgh was a focus of attention for men with risk capital to invest in the development of the lands bordering on the Ohio River and all of its branches and associated waters. In 1809 Joshua Gilpin¹ combined a family vacation with a business survey of the Redstone area (the vicinity of Brownsville), Pittsburgh, and Indiana County. He described the country through which he drove from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and return. He discussed land values and business prospects with innkeepers, businessmen, and legal experts all along the way; noted the presence of natural resources; and spent some time in Pittsburgh in conferences with men who were able to supply him with the kind of information he desired. On the basis of his findings he composed a lengthy assessment of the prospects for investment in western enterprises. At Redstone and in Indiana County he surveyed large tracts of land owned by the Gilpin family and conferred with tenants about rental and development of the land.

Gilpin traveled in his private carriage with his English-born wife, Mary Dilworth Gilpin, and their eight-year-old son Henry. Perhaps because of the carriage he was conscious of the roughness of the roads, especially over the South Mountain; and because of the presence of his wife and son he paid particular attention to the comforts offered at the taverns which provided their accommodations. There were

¹The Gilpin Papers, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; the Henry Dilworth Gilpin Papers and the H. F. Brown Collection, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington; the Alan Wood Steel Company Records, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware; Carey Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia; Ralph D. Gray, *The National Waterway: A History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1769-1965* (Urbana, 1967), *passim*; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1908), p. 235; *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896* (Chicago, 1963), p. 206; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), VII, 315-17; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1917-1959), VI, 437, 445; Joshua Gilpin, "Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia thro the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, L, LI, LII (1926-1928); Joshua Gilpin Journals and Notebooks, 1790-1833, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

servants in the party as well as those hired for temporary service at the inns. One servant came from Philadelphia, and Gilpin hired a carriage driver at Chambersburg in order to have the responsibility for horses and equipage in the charge of a man familiar with the mountains.

The Gilpin family provided many generations of leaders in merchandising, manufacturing, and land development in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. Joseph Gilpin was among the early settlers of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where he possessed a large estate lying between the headwaters of Chester Creek and Brandywine Creek. Several members of the family became merchants in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore. Among these was the author of this *Journal*, who owned a store on Water Street and a residence on Front Street in Philadelphia. He also operated a paper mill at Wilmington, Delaware.

Three generations of Gilpins invested time and money in the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal project, which was aimed at diverting a part of the trade of the Susquehanna Valley from Baltimore to Philadelphia and reducing by three hundred miles of dangerous water the ship travel from Philadelphia to Baltimore. This canal, wholly within Delaware and Maryland, was pushed more by Pennsylvanians than by residents of the states where it was located. Thomas Gilpin was one of the first men to see the value of this waterway, and he secured the earliest route-feasibility surveys. Joshua Gilpin devoted much effort to the task of securing public and private capital to finance construction; and his son Henry was an officer of the completed canal. Joshua's interest in this canal may account for a number of references in the *Journal* to the energy of Baltimore business firms in pushing canals and turnpikes into Pennsylvania.

Joshua Gilpin spent seven years in Europe from 1794 to 1801. During that time he studied botany and courted Mary Dilworth, daughter of a Lancashire banker. After remaining in England until the birth of Henry, the family lived in the United States for the next ten years and then returned to England for four more years. The journey reported in this *Journal* took place in the interval between his two trips to England.

Henry, a boy on the trip to Pittsburgh, became a celebrated jurist and author with wide interests in the cultural advancements of Philadelphia. He was attorney general of the United States in 1840 and an officer of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. William Gilpin, a second son of Joshua and Mary, was also a lawyer. He was interested in the West and joined the

Frémont and Doniphan expeditions. In 1861 he was appointed the first territorial governor of Colorado.

The Gilpin *Journal* is a part of the very extensive collection of Gilpin Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is published with the permission of Nicholas B. Wainwright, director of the society. About one half of this diary was published in three volumes of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1926-1928. The copy which follows was taken from the original rather than from the published version; and, consequently, there are some differences in the text. The full *Journal* is published here for the first time.

Gilpin's penmanship is usually readable, but the haste of his jotting during the journey resulted in a few words which are doubtful. Such places are indicated by a [?] in the text. Dates and statistics were sometimes omitted, evidently with the intent of later completion, which was not always done. These omissions are shown by brackets [], which often contain the correct information, supplied by the editor.

The spelling, punctuation, and syntax are Gilpin's. No effort was made to change his form or style in order to modernize the text, except a few marks of extraneous or misplaced punctuation. A pomposity and assumed erudition are reflected in his manner of writing which could easily be lost through too zealous editorial revisions.

In closing I must express a word of appreciation to the members of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, who approved this publication; to Mr. William J. Wewer, the Executive Director of the Commission; Dr. Donald H. Kent, Director of the Bureau of Archives and History; and to Mr. William A. Hunter, Chief of the Division of History, who supervised, and Mr. Harold L. Myers, Associate Historian, who handled publication.

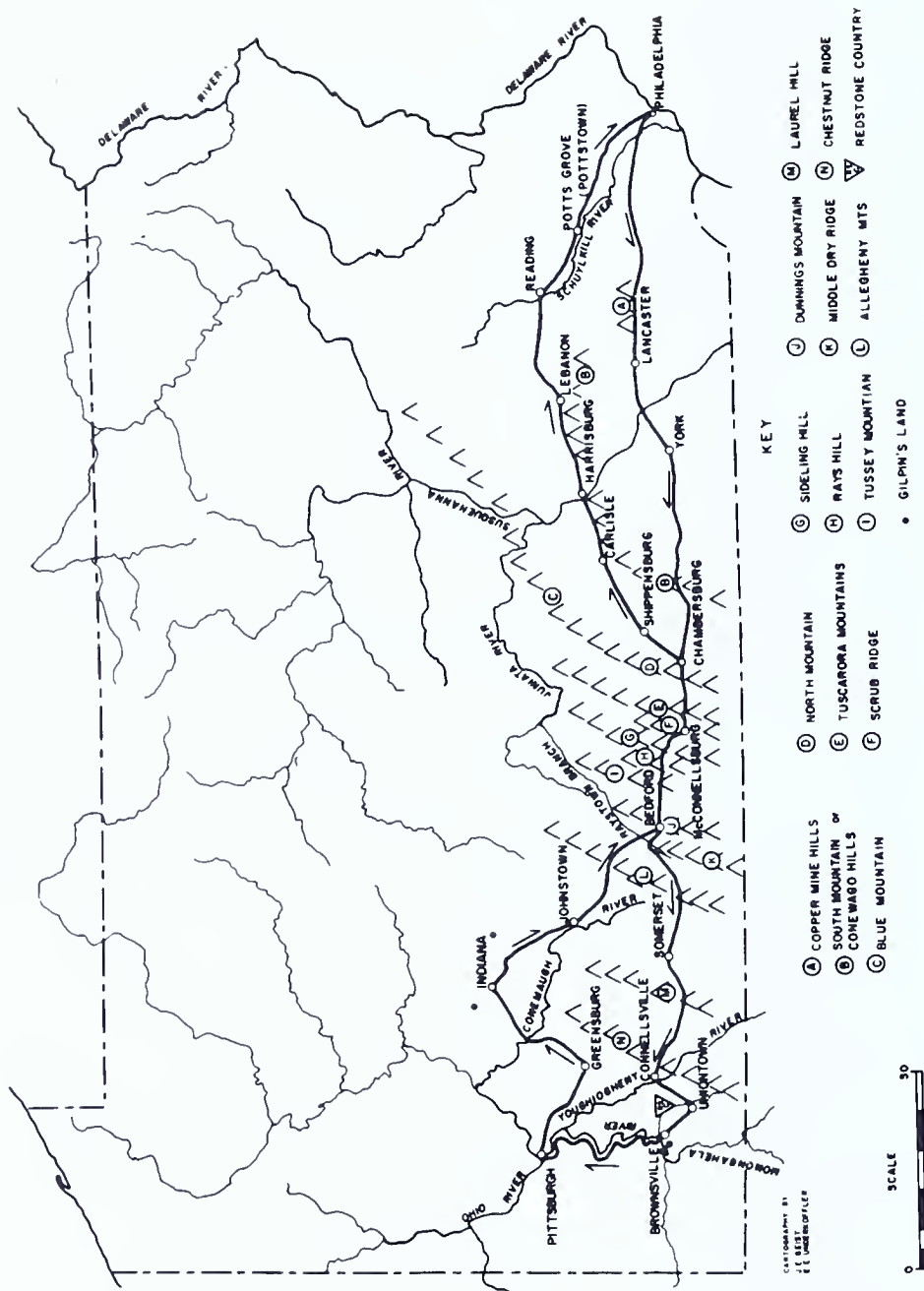
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JOSHUA GILPIN'S ROUTE, 1809



PART ONE

From Philadelphia to the Redstone

September 14 to September 24

Sep. 14th We left Philadelphia on a tour to the Western parts of Pennsylvania: after crossing the Schuylkill permanent bridge,² we took the Lancaster Turnpike,³ and soon rose by an easy ascent to the height of the hills which skirt the western bank of the Schuylkill, these hills form a part of the first range in the UStates from the Ocean; as they are also the first which are composed of stone, or any substance but alluvial soil; they consist of a soft, coarse, grey, stone; a mixture of quarts [*sic*], mica, & feltspar.—

After gaining the summit of the hills which are of no considerable elevation, we have a level road, with a soil chiefly of yellow loam often stony, & mixed with the harder substance of the hills— rocks appear frequently, & the face of the country is divided by small hills & small vallies, with rivulets among them, in no place bold or picturesque, but formed into neat farms with portions of irrigated meadow, woodland, & open fields: for several miles the vicinity of the city gives a number of neat houses inhabited as country retreats, but on a small scale—the larger villas laying on our right on the romantic banks of the Schuylkill itself.— this Turnpike is very rough, the carriage upon

² In 1805 Timothy Palmer completed the "Permanent Bridge" over the Schuylkill River at Market Street in Philadelphia. It was a wooden, covered bridge. But in 1809 the "new bridge" over the Schuylkill was James Finley's suspension bridge, 306 feet in length, supported by two chains of one-and-a-quarter-inch-square bar iron. It broke down under the weight of a herd of cattle in 1811. It was repaired but collapsed again in 1816. William H. Shank, *Historic Bridges of Pennsylvania* (York, Pa., 1966), pp. 3-7.

³ Lancaster Turnpike, sixty-two miles long, was built in 1792-1794 at a cost of \$465,000 by a private company, which collected tolls at nine points along the road from Philadelphia to Lancaster. It was the first rural road in America with a solid stone foundation for its gravel surface. S. K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation* (New York, 1964), p. 148.

it from the interior being very great, and little pains taken to keep it in high repair especially, to coat it with gravel which is not plenty—

This description serves to the Buck Tavern⁴ kept by Miller, a very old & good Inn standing at the point where the old Lancaster road & the new Turnpike unite.— as we had started late in the day, we concluded to remain here for the night.—

Our ride was only 10 miles—& the expense:

Toll over Schuylkill Bridge	12 1/2
at 2. Gates	20 —
Our bill altogether for the night & breakfast	4.25.

	4.57.1/2

The townships we have passed thro are Blockley,⁵ and Lower Merion, they are some of the oldest settlements in the state, many of the Lands having been possessed by the Sweedes before the charter of Pennsylvania— there are also considerable parcells yet in the families of the earliest English settlers, in tracts of 300 acres and upwards, this circumstance and the soil being by no means rich, has prevented so great an improvement as might be expected from the vicinity of this city, which affords a ready markett for all the produce— there are however some good farmers but in general no large staple produce: the supply of the city with butter, milk, hay, wood oats &ca. being the chief object with the farmers rather than raising large crops of corn— the small streams are all converted into corn, paper, & other mills— the price of Land within a few miles of the city is about \$200. per acre— here at 9 miles distance it is held at abt. \$160— the course of our road has been nearly West & follows the Schuylkill at the distance of 2 to 3 miles—

Sept^r. 15. We rose this morning so as to breakfast, dress, & gett off abt 1/2 past 7—the country much the same as yesterday, tho more hilly—the soil not rich, nor the cultivation in general very good, tho the mixture of meadow, wood & hills give it a pleasant appearance, & many of the farms are well tilled, the buildings always of stone & generally large.

The stony strata we have described continues but a short distance from the Buck when it changes to the hard compact dark blue granite,

⁴The Buck Tavern was the first stage stop on the Lancaster Turnpike, eleven miles from Philadelphia. It was at the corner of Haverford and Lower Merion townships, near Ardmore. Reading Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; *First Directory of Pittsburgh, Year 1815* (Pittsburgh, 1815; republished 1905), p. 152.

⁵Blockley Township was in Philadelphia County, west of the Schuylkill River. Lower Merion was next west on the Main Line.

of unequal fracture, similar to that at Brandywine, it being undoubtedly on the same ridge—

At the 14 & 15 M.[ile post] from P[hiladelphia] the Amianthus or Soap stone appears, but is soon succeeded by limestone, hard, blue, white & opake— the soil also changes to a bright yellow loam, which seems uniformly to cover the limestone—the cultivation becomes better and at the 18 M.S. begins to descend to the westward, with the valley hills in view— at 19. the descent is more rapid, & at 20 we fully enter the valley which immediately affords a beautiful prospect of intermingled culture hill, wood, rich meadow, & neat farm houses.— it is here abt 1/2 m. wide—

We stopped at the Warren⁶ an indifferent Inn, & came on to Downings Town—

This ride is altogether in the Valley, the hills rise on each side having an area of abt. 3/4 of a mile in width which is divided into numberless farms chiefly small— the hills are uniformly covered with wood with the cultivated fields indented, & climbing up the sides, the Area of the Valley has every where been rich, but in some places is exhausted by culture or neglect— it is however kept rich wherever the farmer wishes by the inexhaustible store of Lime; the substrata being every where limestone— the culture is intermingled with Corn, Indian Corn, Orchards, Hemp flax & a large portion of irrigated meadow:

The Lands in the Valley rate at abt \$100. per acre.— the houses are every where excellent, & as it was settled very early its inhabitants are chiefly composed of the most respectable farmers, both Dutch and English; many of the latter are Quakers, and descendants of original settlers who came over about the time of William Penn or soon afterwards.

Lime is a great article in the Valley & there are numerous Kilns of it: I find the price abt 12 cents Winchester bushels at the Kiln, it is all burnt with wood of which the forests on the hills of each side afford an ample supply— the price of Wood standing, is \$1. per cord, the cutting costs 40 cents & the hawling abt. the same, so that the price at the kiln is abt. \$2 per cord

The Valley may be properly termed the Vale of the Brandywine, as the two branches of that river run thro it, from their sources in the hills on each side— it does not however follow that river very far down, as like nearly all the Vallies in the United States it runs at a cross angle with the principle streams and are rather the vales of different branches than of the main stream—

⁶ Warren's Tavern was near Paoli.

The eastern end of the Valley is also watered by a stream called the Valley creek, rising in the same sources as the Brandywine, but running eastward into the Schuylkill—

It is to these streams that the Valley owes a great portion of its fertility, and beauty, for the numerous rivulets which fall from the sides of the hills afford the opportunity for irrigation, and convert a large portion of its area into meadow

Tho the limestone is generally covered with a bright yellow loam, yet in most places naturally, and in all where improvement has taken place; this loam is covered or converted into a fat rich dark earth—

The face of the Valley is in no degree uniformly flat, but abounds in small knolls, & a very graceful undulation of its surface, & these become higher on each side as they approach the hills.— the enclosures are in some places, so small; & so mixed with orchards & grass lots as to appear nearly like a village of farms, in other places they are spread into extensive fields, & the houses at a distance on eminences surrounded with their Stock yards, large barns, & outhouses, & generally ornamented with large trees, give the highest idea of farming wealth & comfort— the copses of wood—which are every where mixed add greatly to the scene—Chesnut, oak, & the Button wood which is a noble tree generally compose them & they are perhaps the more graceful from not being planted, but left either by accident or design from the forest which has once covered the whole country—

Along the road besides the farm houses, are a number of very neat, & some elegant ones, chiefly built & owned by citizens who have once lived in this country or possess connections in it & are used as country seats— indeed there are few places where a quiet, healthy, & beautiful situation in the country can be better obtained—

We reached Downings town,⁷ abt 1/2 past 12.—& as the country hour of dining is abt 1 OClock we chose to conform to it—

This town takes its name from the family who originally settled the tract— it is a very respectable Quaker family, who are numerous & wealthy— Hunt Downing one of them owns and keeps the Inn which is an excellent one— he is also (like most Innkeepers on this road) a considerable farmer; which gives great plenty to the house, & is one cause of its cheapness— our whole dinner bill including wine, servant, & two horses was \$1.50, or 6/9. stg⁸— (as is generally the case also), the

⁷ Joseph Gibbons called it Milltown in 1804. See his Notes on a Journey to Ohio in 1804, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Pennsylvania money was still used for setting prices in many of the rural areas of the Commonwealth later than 1809. Joseph E. Walker, *Hopewell Village: A Social and Economic History of an Iron-Making Community* (Philadelphia, 1966), *passim*.

Inns are the more comfortable in proportion as they are cheap— we have here neat rooms with carpets, glasses &ca & excellent beds— all these Inns besides the accommodation for genteel Travellers have a vast establishment in stables, & needs for Waggoners who particularly in stormy weather often assemble in great numbers— their horses are put into sheds, & the Waggoners into a large room, where they assemble round a stove if in winter, & here they sleep on their own straw, or blanketts, eat out of their own wallet, & feed their horses with their own provender— a trifle is charged for hay—& but little else; the Inn being to them a kind of Caravansera, the owners finding their account in furnishing this accommodation, solely from the liquor, & such money as is accidentally spent by this sort of company—among whom it is remarked that the Irishmen all drink Whiskey or brandy, & the Dutchmen generally Wine—

Downings town consists of abt. 30 houses—most of them, large stone houses with considerable spaces between— it has also a merchant corn mill, & numerous stores, & shops of blacksmiths, sadlers &ca for the supply of the neighboring country which constitutes the chief object of American towns—

After dinner we came on thro the westernmost end of the Valley crossing it rather in a diagonal line— at Downings town we crossed the east branch of the Brandywine over a very handsome stone bridge⁹ of 3. arches— the valley continues nearly the same as we have described —when we cross the west branch of the Brandywine which winds close along the foot of the hills—the western boundary of the valley—

We soon mounted these hills & have a fine retrospective view of the Valley for a great extent bounded by the eastern chain of hills—

As we ascend, we immediately lose the limestone—and rich soil— the hills are steep and rocky, too much so in appearance for profitable cultivation which is one reason they are still kept in forest— the road is well made, & winds for abt 1/2 mile to the top, where it is again level— here we see the rocks of which the hills are composed— they are formed of a light grey sand stone which very much resembling y^e limestone in appearance—& for some distance appear to possess some calcareous mixture— we soon however perceive quartz, and greyish, mixed sand stone a compact hard stone of a greyish metallic appearance— these appear to compose this ridge which is the dividing one between the Brandywine & Pequea or rather the waters of the Delaware, & Susquehannah the smaller heads of the Brandywine, Pequea, & Octarara [*sic*] all having their sources in them—

⁹ The three-arch stone bridge, costing \$12,000, was a part of the Lancaster Turnpike construction. Shank, *Historic Bridges*, p. 29.

We continue ascending until we rise an expanse of open country, evidently of considerable height— the soil changes for the worse, and the price of the land accordingly to abt. \$25. to \$30 per acre— it is however by no means a disagreeable country in its aspect, nor is it naturally poor—but has been exhausted by bad cultivation— at present however a great deal of it is becoming highly improved— Plaster of Paris¹⁰ has done wonders—but they also bring limestone from the valley & burn it here which they use with other manure— wood is so cheap as 40 cents per cord in the woods, & cutting 40 more—hauling not more than 40 so that \$1.20. to \$1.50 is the price of wood— notwithstanding the elevation of this country it is still irrigated—& there are several mills on our road— the upland also where it has undergone a due course of plaster, lime &c yields grass astonishingly— we saw fields where they had been compelled to carry the crop to another to be cured—

There are several neat Inns at moderate distances from Downings— we chose the Gen^l Wayne—kept by Pettit,¹¹ finding it very clean, & the people obliging it is 13. miles—our road therefore to day has been as follows.—Millers to the Warren—

	12.M
to Downing's Town.	10.
to Petit's	13. 35—

which is about as far as a pair of horses can go without fatigue in a hilly country & on a road which tho a Turnpike is very rough—Our days expense has been as follows.

Bill at Millers last night	4.25.
at the Warren—bait	25.
at Downings dinner & servt	1.75.
Tolls for 35 M ^s .	72

Total for 1 day—35 M ^s	\$6.97—

Sept^r. 16.

We left our Inn at 8 OClock— our journey was from thence to Lancaster and Columbia on the Susquehanna a distance of 30 miles thro the finest district of land in Pennsylvania— For 3 miles from our Inn we continue on the same high ridge with the same country we

¹⁰ Plaster of Paris was commonly used as a fertilizer by the farmers in the nineteenth century.

¹¹ General Wayne Inn, kept by John Pettit, was at Compass, near the boundary between Chester and Lancaster counties on the Lancaster Turnpike. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 62.

had yesterday but chiefly in woods— we then begin gradually to descend—having on our right fine catches of distant hills called the Welsh Mountains & on our left, the southern hills of Lancaster County; the extent of the prospect evidently shewing our elevated situation— as we descend we come again on lime stone, a fine soil & good cultivation, which marks the valleys of Pequea & Conestogo¹²— these are undoubtedly the richest settlement in the state— William Penn seems to have been well informed of this country soon after he first landed, as he endeavored early to purchase it of the Susquehanna Indians in which he met with some difficulties— however it began to be settled soon after 1700— it is said that the heavy timber of the native soil, & the difficulty of clearing it, frightened the Welsh, Irish, & English settlers, so that they came back from it to other lands far inferior, and more lightly wooded[—] however, it was better understood by the Germans, who came over ab 1702 and were the first settlers of it, their descendants generally retaining it ever since— it is of a different character from the Brandywine Valley & far superior— its basis is universally limestone, and its soil of a fat rich brown mould— its aspect is also different, instead of the small features of the former valley it expands into the grandest sweeps, its hills are never too steep for the plough but rise in that bold round form which gives beauty to its picturesque appearance, and style & magnitude to the farms— its fields are vast, its herds of cattle numerous, and the stretches of meadow between the hills, or rising along their sides are of the richest verdure— the tops of the hills are generally covered with wood, & the knolls, & clumps which every where interspersed are equal to some of the finest park scenery in England— the houses too are on a large scale standing at a distance from the road often in very noble situations & with their vast barns, stabling & outhouses, have an imposing effect; every where, the utmost use is made of the rivulets which are led about over the hills, and are the source of the rich verdure of their meadows—

The culture is both of corn and pasturage, of large crops of wheat, hay, and abundance of cattle, these also, as well as the horses tho not altogether so large as in England are the best breed in America, and generally fine animals— the industry of the German, supported by so rich a soil seems to leave no object unaccomplished— & we only want the hedge rows, and finished neatness of English farming to make this country one of the finest agriculture districts in the world—

¹² The Pequea and Conestoga creeks are mainly in Lancaster County. Both flow into the Susquehanna River.

These immediate beauties with the numberless stretches of prospect for a great extent and on every side, over numerous hills & ridges of mountain, made our ride altogether very pleasant—

In 10 miles—we reach Witmers Inn¹³—a large brick building, & like the rest forming a kind of Caravansera— Witmer has also a store—& a large farm, & is a man of no small consequence— in his shirt & trousers, & hands rough with work; he enquires, the news, & talks over the politics of the day with no small degree of sense & acuteness.— he tells me that his Grandfather came from Switzerland & bought the lands here about 100 years ago— he considers, just here, as one of the most choice parts of this valley—the lands generally bring \$100. per acre at the 60 mile stone, & 2 m from Lancaster we cross the Conestogo river which is about 100 yards wide, over a handsome bridge of 7 stone arches, the arches lined with marble— this bridge was built by Jacob Witmer¹⁴ (brother of the one we have mentioned) who has been repeatedly member for the county in the Legislature—at his own expense, under the privilege of a perpetual toll

We soon enter Lancaster which is the largest inland town in the United States, & now the seat of Government for Pennsylvania.¹⁵— the tract of land composing the town & a considerable district around it was originally taken up by Mr Hamilton¹⁶ (then Governor of Pennsylvania for the Penn family) he laid out the town, which soon became a thriving one from being in the center of so rich a country— it has since descended to and is now owned by Mr. Hamilton of the Woodlands¹⁷—who derives a ground rent from all the present buildings, & has a large quantity of land around it—

At the center of the town stands the State house on the point of a round hill from which four principal streets descend each way for some distance & then rise again; on approaching the town therefore we first descend along the main street & then ascend to the center which over looks a fine, broken country on all sides— the streets are as broad as those of Philadelphia, & the houses principally built of brick in the

¹³ Witmers Inn, was at Intercourse, Lancaster County.

¹⁴ Reading Howell's Pennsylvania map of 1792 records this place as Whitmore's at the crossing of the Conestoga. Abraham Witmer built the bridge.

¹⁵ Lancaster was the capital of Pennsylvania from 1799 until the seat of government was moved to Harrisburg in 1812.

¹⁶ The founder of Lancaster, in 1730, was James Hamilton. He died in 1783. William Riddle, *The Story of Lancaster: Old and New* (Lancaster, 1917), pp. 14-21.

¹⁷ James Hamilton, son of Andrew and grandson of the founder, was the proprietor of Lancaster in 1809. The Hamilton House in Philadelphia was beside the Woodlands Cemetery. Joseph Jackson (ed.), *Quaint Corners in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 177.

same neat manner,— it has several good buildings—the State house standing in the center of the town—a handsome Jail, a Church with a spire of considerable height and beauty—& a neat Poor house and Hospital— there are also a number of shops & stores besides which it is the residence of many good families both German & English—& there are a number of thriving manufactures—

We dined at Col Sloughs,¹⁸ an excellent Inn where we had dinner served in as neat a manner as in our own house— here I had the pleasure to see several of my friends & particularly Judge Coleman¹⁹ one of the most respectable men in Pennsylvania & one of the wealthiest in the United States, his fortune has been acquired within a few years altogether by Iron works which he carries on [in] the neighbourhood to great extent— he informs me that he makes annually 2000. ton of Pig & 1100 ton of Bar Iron— his principal works are abt. 12 to 15 M. N. & NE of Lancaster; among the hills called the Conewango or Grubbs Mountain— besides his works there are also many others in this county— Judge Coleman tells me that the first in the state were those of Durham²⁰ on the Delaware began ab. 1745.—being on the same range of hills: a few miles to the left of where we passed the 35 M stone to day there has been a Copper mine²¹ lately worked, the same ridge of hills is said to abound in Copper thro the UStates—but the ore is not rich—

our bill at dinner was \$2—

We left Lancaster at 4. & proceeded thro the same valley & a country

¹⁸ Matthias Slough operated the White Swan Tavern on the southeast corner of the square in Lancaster from 1761 to 1806, and his family continued it until 1824. He also had a stage line which operated coaches between Lancaster and Philadelphia on a daily schedule. Frederic Shriver Klein and Charles X. Carlson, *Old Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1964), pp. 81, 94, 101.

¹⁹ Judge Robert Coleman was one of the wealthiest ironmasters in America, with interests at Cornwall and Elizabeth furnaces among his holdings. Franklin K. Bergman, "Robert Coleman," unpublished master's thesis, Millersville State College, 1967.

²⁰ Judge Coleman was mistaken both about the dates of the founding of the Durham Iron Works and about the fact of its having been the first in Pennsylvania. Durham was founded in 1727 and was the twelfth ironworks in Pennsylvania. The first was Rutters Forge, in 1716. Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938), p. 187.

²¹ Considerable copper was extracted from the iron-ore mines in the Welsh Hills on Gilpin's right. In 1843 an English company bought the rights to the copper ore at the Jones Mine near Morgantown on the opposite side of the Welsh Hills from that seen from the Turnpike. But the Coppermine Hills were on Gilpin's left between Strasburg and Gap in Lancaster County. Walker, *Hopewell*, p. 144; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

equally interesting to Columbia²² formerly Wrights ferry on the Susquehanna, which we did not reach till Sunset & took up our lodging at the Ferry house a large Inn on the Bank of the river,²³ but in the town— we were late & too much fatigued to make any observations this evening for tho our journey had been only 30 miles, the road tho Turnpike was so hilly & so rough that both ourselves & horses were much fatigued—

Our bill last night at Petits

last night—\$3.87 Servt 12 1/2	\$4.
at Whitmers bait	25
at Lancaster dinner	2.12½
Tolls for 30 miles	1.15

	\$7.52½

Sept^r 17th.—Journey from Columbia to Oxford 30 M

We crossed the Susquehanna at Columbia abt. 8 OClock— the Carriage & horses in a long Scow; as the river abounds in rocks & flats to avoid accidents, MG [Mary, Gilpin's wife], Henry²⁴ & myself took a small batteaux with a man to row it, in which we crossed in abt. 20 minutes & the Scow in about half an hour, the water not being high the stream was extremely tranquil & the current by no means rapid, we could every where see the bottom the water being quite clear— the bottom is very uneven, appearing composed of numberless rocks— the deepest part was now not more than 5 or 6 feet but so shallow in many places that our boat which drew only 5 or 6 in[ches] of water almost touched— some of the rocks also are above the water & in many places there are roots, logs, & trunks of trees, it is 1 1/4 M wide— just above

²² The Turnpike ended at Lancaster, but the road to the west was well established beyond Lancaster. Columbia later became an important trade center as the terminus of the Columbia-Philadelphia Railroad and the Susquehanna Canal. In 1809 it was one of the busiest points of crossing on the Susquehanna River. James W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, 1947), *passim*.

²³ A well-known old hotel was located at the corner of Walnut and Front streets in Columbia. At a somewhat later period it was known as "Blocks." *Historical Atlas of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1875), p. 81.

²⁴ Henry was Gilpin's eight-year-old son. He was born in England, and his mother was English. Joshua seems to have been amused at the English ways of his wife and son in this and several subsequent references in this diary. As an adult Henry became secretary of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, director of the Bank of the United States, attorney general of the United States, an author, and editor of *The Papers of James Madison*. Ralph D. Gray, "Henry D. Gilpin, A Pennsylvania Jacksonian," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXVII (1970), pp. 340-51.

us are falls & rapids of 2 to 3 feet all across, & abt. a mile above a high bold ridge of hills called the Chickasalungo hills—approach on each side the river, which having worn itself thro forms the falls we have mentioned— the hills projecting boldly form high banks covered with wood— that on the East side of which we have a fine view is called the Chickies²⁵ rock (an abbreviation of Chickasalungo). & is a precipice of 360 feet measured height— looking down the river it is again closed by another ridge of high hills broken into a number of high wooded Islands— these interlocking together form a beautiful & picturesque outlet—& give the area of the river the appearance of a lake—each shore being formed of high woody banks— when we reached the opposite shore the town of Columbia appears to great advantage stretching along the margin of the river—

Columbia is seated on the lowest point where the Susquehanna is safely navigable—there is about 15 miles above it where it is crossed by the South Mountain or Connewago hills falls of some danger, however there is a canal formed to pass these falls, which has been made & is owned by Mr Francis²⁶ of Philadelphia— above these falls the navigation of the river has few impediments up to its highest sources; Columbia is therefore the grand depot of all the produce of this vast river which waters a great part of Pennsylvania— this produce is brought down to Columbia, where part is carried by land to Philadelphia and part dispersed over Lancaster & Chester Counties— the produce now brought consists of abt. 100,000 bbls flour, 300,000 bus of wheat; an immense quantity of lumber—a great deal of coal, iron, whiskey, beef, pork, & in fact all the productions of the country; the neighbourhood of the head streams of the Susquehanna being now all a new settled country and a vast proportion of it not yet settled at all— the increase of the trade of Columbia appears almost incalculable as it must become the grand depot for by far the largest part of the produce of the state— the coal, brought here is found on the river or

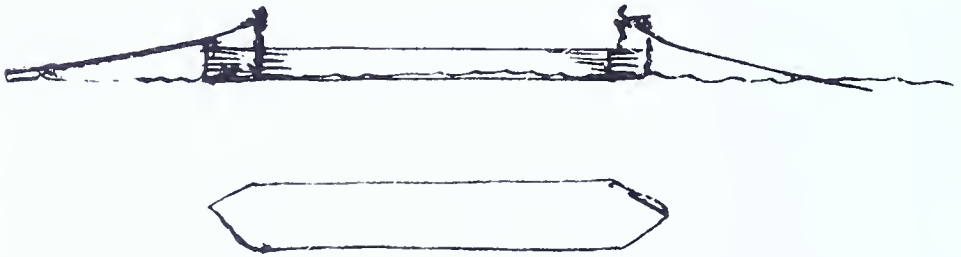
²⁵ Chickies Rock is still a favorite point from which to view a long sweep of the Susquehanna. A bridge was opened in 1972 near this place to carry a bypass for U. S. 30 across the river north of Columbia.

²⁶ Tench Francis, cashier of the Bank of North America, was a partner in a group of men largely from Philadelphia who received a contract to improve navigation on the Susquehanna between Wrightsville and the mouth of the Swatara Creek. This canal, one mile long, was opened in 1797 around Conewago Falls opposite York Haven. The first of numerous Pennsylvania canals, it cost the Commonwealth \$100,000. William H. Shank, "The Amazing Pennsylvania Canals," *Civil Engineering—ASCE*, January, 1965, pp. 66-69; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, ed. John B. Linn and William H. Egle (Harrisburg, 1893-1896), IV, 277; XVIII, 512-13. See also note 265.

its branches— that on the East branch called Wilkesbarre coal is a fine coal to appearance but destitute of bitumen and like the Kilkenny not fit for extensive use²⁷— that which is brought down the Juniata & Clearfield on the west branches is a coal of the finest kind for Smiths or any other use & is sold for various purposes throughout Lancaster & Chester Counties which contain no coal, its price at Columbia is 37 cents.²⁸

The produce is brought down from the extreme waters of the river, in two kinds of boat, one called keel boats are long flat bottomed vessells built regularly like a barge, but very flat & carry 50 to 60. tons— Arks are vessells of the rudest & strongest construction, a flat frame of timber is laid for the bottom very strong on which strong parts are placed upright & boards fastened on the outside, which are roughly tho securely caulked— they are in fact nothing more, than a vast, rough, and unwieldy box of this shape

unwieldy box of this shape



being flat bottomed & perpendicular at the sides, abt. 60 to 90 feet long, from 15 to 20 wide & abt. 5 feet deep— they are so rough as to be put together only with wooden pins or dowells— they carry an immense quantity, & draw abt. 2 feet water—these are built at the places of embarkation on the upper parts of the river & loaded at the time of freshes only, as they cannot be navigated in any other [season]— they have neither oars or sails but depend solely on the velocity of the current & are guided by a long oar at each end— thus strong they bounce & tumble over the falls & rapids, it being only necessary to keep them from running aground: as they are then knocked to pieces

²⁷ This opinion of the anthracite coal of northeastern Pennsylvania was held for some time after 1809. The chief problem was the difficulty in kindling it. In the 1830's it became the basis for one of the most important improvements in iron-making when anthracite coal replaced charcoal as the fuel in many furnaces. Walker, *Hopewell*, p. 59.

²⁸ The price quoted was for a bushel of bituminous coal.

& the cargo with difficulty saved— the boatmen are so expert however that these accidents do not often happen, when they arrive at Columbia, they are unloaded, broke up, & sold as lumber— several we saw at Columbia, had a vast quantity of coal on board—

The flour brought down the river is chiefly sent to Philadelphia— the waggonage being abt. \$1.25. per bbl of 2 Cwt— the wheat is bought for the Lancaster & Chester County mills,— some of the Arks venture down the river for the Baltimore market—but below Columbia there is such a succession of falls and obstructions, that accidents are very frequent & the risque too great to be often attempted— vast numbers of rafts of boards, & timber go down— the jealousy of the Baltimore people & there [*sic*] eagerness to command more or less of the trade of Pennsylvania, prompts them to give every encouragement to those who venture— the Legislature of Pennsylvania has also most unwisely allowed large sums to be expended in attempts to open the river & a canal was formed for part of the distance in the state of Maryland²⁹ which however has proved abortive—& all attempts to improve the navigation of the river* seem difficult in execution: the velocity of the stream is so great that the arks go from Columbia to Havre de Grace abt. 50 miles in 5 hours— Nature seems to have placed the produce of Pennsylvania at this place in such a situation as to leave it to Philadelphia and Baltimore to contend for [it] by their improvements³⁰— Philadelphia has certainly the advantage, but the exertions of Baltimore, may very much injure her unless efforts are used which are in her power & ought to be used in order to bring the produce of the state to its own commercial metropolis— the Turnpike road has already done a great deal, but Baltimore has also extended turnpikes of less distance so that the only effectual means will be, for Philadelphia to form a canal from hence direct to the city which has been long talked of & attempted abt 15 miles higher up the river and failed,³¹ but there

* In the manuscript as originally written, this clause continued, "as the obstacles seem insurmountable." In changing it, Gilpin left the phrase "as the obstacles" intact.

²⁹ This Susquehanna Canal was opened in 1802 from Love Island, just below the Mason and Dixon Line, to tidewater. It was sold in a bankruptcy sale in 1817 but eventually was made a part of the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal, which ran from Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, to Havre de Grace, Maryland. Ralph Singer, "The Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1968; Livingood, *Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry*, pp. 33ff.

³⁰ The Philadelphia-Baltimore contention for Susquehanna Valley trade is discussed in detail by Livingood. *Ibid.*

³¹ At Middletown, Pennsylvania.

is scarcely a doubt that at some future period it will be resumed & executed on a more practicable route—

Columbia was formerly called nothing more than Wrights ferry—the lands on both sides the river having been early taken up & ever since held by the respectable Quaker family of that name who laid out the town 20 years ago and still hold the principal property in it and its neighbourhood.

After crossing the river we came on by a road now making into Turnpike from Wrights landing opposite Columbia to York, luckily the Turnpike was not so far finished as to deprive us of the natural road on its side, which is a very fine one, at this season & proved a grateful relief from the roughness of those we have hitherto had—

We continue with the same excellent soil, limestone, strata, & cultivated country to York evidently in a continuation of the same vale that we had passed thro beyond the river tho it now becomes much narrower being bounded by a ridge of hills on each side—those on the north the Chickasalungo—& on the south probably with the Copper mine hills which are of moderate elevation but altogether wooded—the valley is 1 1/2 to 2 miles wide, and exhibits the same feature of improvement we have already remarked— in all this country both yesterday & to day the plough is every where at work preparing for sowing the ensuing crop— & in general all the lands not ploughed are covered with clover & other rich grasses even on the hills— this is the effect of the late improvement in tillage which by the use of plaister of Paris has converted the sides of the hills into as rich pasturage as the low grounds clover & oftentimes buckwheat being often sown on the winter crops so as to give pasturage after they are cut & then to be kept in grass until they are again put into grain

Yesterday & to day we met large droves of cattle, chiefly as fine in point of form & size as any I have ever seen a few of the very largest breeds excepted— these are purchased in the western country where they are raised in the woods among the new settlements, & sold at a small price to herdsmen who drive them into the fine counties of York Lancaster & Chester where they are purchased by the farmers & fattened on their rich lands— in passing the Susquehanna at seasons when the water is low as at present these herds are driven at once into the river & followed by boats who keep them from rambling leaving the cattle to find their way across which they do with ease partly by swimming & partly by wading

The town of York which is the Capital of the county of the same name stands in a high open situation surrounded on every side by a

rich country; it is built of brick & consists of one long street with several others crossing it— the Court house which is a brick building stands in the center of this street, & of the town— on entering it we remarked it had the appearance of an English town—not being so new as most others & the buildings more compact— many of them also are timber frames, filled with brick as is frequent in England— the footways are paved & many of the houses are very neat.— the town was founded in [1750]³² & contains 500 houses & 3000 inhabitants; besides Taverns, shops, stores, & tradesmen it is also the residence of many genteel & wealthy families—

I called on Mr Ralph Bowie³³ a lawyer of eminence with whom I have been intimate many years— he is a Scotsman & was Secretary to the celebrated Protestant Association in Scotland, but quitted England at about the time of the London riots & came to Philadelphia where he remained some years & afterwards removed here—where he married— Mr & Mrs Bowie called on MG [Mary Gilpin] at the Inn & pressed us to make some stay in York—but as our getting to the westward speedily was our great object we were obliged tho sorry to part from them & also from the very nice Inn we found here kept by Spangler³⁴— so soon as our horses were baited we set out for Kings,³⁵ an Inn 11 miles distant—

We remained in the same valley & with the same scenery for abt 8 or 9 miles when we left the limestone & found ourselves on strata of rock composed of a mixture of pebbles connected by a mass of reddish colored sand stone— the soil also changes to a reddish friable earth occasioned by a crumbling slate stone which on the surface soon moulders into dust— we presume that we have either left the valley by the course of our road being different or that we approach the sides

³² In several instances, including this one, the date was not in the original text. A space was left to fill in the missing material, but it was never completed by Gilpin.

³³ Ralph Bowie, lawyer at York, Pennsylvania.

³⁴ The Spangler Family was one of the oldest in York. Some of its outstanding members at the time of Gilpin's visit were G. Michael Spangler; Jacob Spangler, deputy surveyor of York County; Daniel Spangler, member of several important county committees; and Michael H. Spangler, commander of a Company of York Volunteers in the War of 1812. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 281; I. Daniel Rupp, *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1845), pp. 648, 651-52, 655-62; Betty Peckham, *The Story of a Dynamic Community: York, Pennsylvania* (York, 1945), p. 4.

³⁵ Kings Inn, Sign of the Unicorn, a stopping place for the Gibbons party five years earlier, was in the Pigeon Hills. See Gibbons, Notes; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

of the western hills— we have however still a fine country, & the price of lands [is] little reduced—

At Kings we found a neat house but a disagreeable Landlord being a German who would not hurry himself, & it was not without difficulty we got an ordinary dinner—

Our next stage was 8 miles to Oxford³⁶ where we found an excellent Inn kept by one Harch a German also but both him & his wife were very civil

The country becomes more hilly, & our road tho good was intersected by a continued succession of small hills, we have now evidently left the Valley, & mounted on a high open country over which we have a fine prospect for 20 miles westward bounded by the long faint ridge of the South mountain—

Tho the cultivation continues good & soil also, there is an evident decline from that of yesterday & to day.— our Landlord informs us that the price of Land here is abt. \$30. to \$40. per acre in the neighbourhood of York it is abt. \$80—

Our expenses to day

Last nights bill at Columbia	3.95—
Ferriage of Susquehanna	1.—
Servants	.25.
Bait at York & Servts.	40—
Dinner at King's	1.37.

\$6.97.

Sept^r 18th.—Our Journey was from Oxford across the South Mountain to Chambersburgh 32 miles—

We had nice lodgings & slept better than we have done since we left home— we were therefore up early, our horses were fed before day-break, and we breakfasted dressed & ca & were on the road by 7 OClock—

The country continues to decrease in goodness the same reddish argillaceous soil continuing, yet it is well settled and improved, at abt 4 miles we passed the Conewango Creek³⁷ a beautiful stream of abt. 30 yards wide over which is a high stone bridge and near it the usual accompaniment of every stream in this country a large stone mill with an excellent house no doubt of the Millers— we soon lost our reddish soil & entered upon a light yellow soil with dark argillaceous

³⁶ Oxford is now New Oxford. The road divided here with the northern route going to Chambersburg via Black's Gap and the southern road going to Gettysburg. Gilpin took the northern road. *Ibid.*

³⁷ The Conewango Creek is a branch of the Susquehanna River.

substrata crumbling where exposed to the air as before— we now have the Mountain direct before us being a long high steep ridge covered with wood— at 12 Miles we halted to bait at Blacks³⁸ an Inn which appears to have large custom for Waggoners— it is an old and very ordinary frame or log house— but there is one tolerably neat room for the accommodation of Travellers— we here saw in the outer room the largest Iron stove we had ever beheld it was abt. 6 feet long—3 high & 2½ wide; it is made this large not because smaller ones will not give heat enough, but they occasion the wood being cut into smaller lengths which is too troublesome & will not consume fast enough the fuel which is superabundant— We saw here a Team of horses in which there were some as fine as I ever saw in any country— one in particular tho not so prodigiously large as the Dray horses in England was as strong and the best made large horse I ever saw he cost \$200—& this price is not uncommon in the Teams of this country which have as good horses for the severe service they undergo, as can be found perhaps in any country more lightness & activity being necessary, than on the Turnpike roads and in the cooler climate of England—

Black tells me he gave \$70 per acre for this farm, & says these lands produce wheat excellently, tho [they are] not so rich as some we have past—

Leaving Blacks we immediately enter on the roots of the mountain, our road for 3 miles being not steep but very stony, the country here seems to form a flat area of some extent evidently the base of the mountain which rises steep before us— we were now near enough to see that its sides were composed of nothing but huge rocks & precipices— We soon began to ascend it, & are accompanied at first by some rude settlements & houses, one of them unites a Tavern & Sadlers shop—where our harness wanting some repair we stopped half an hour— all now becomes rude and solitary, the roughest wilderness, composed of high hills covered with forests, except where a few settlements are thinly scattered among them— the last house we found on the ascent was a decent log house & saw mill turned by a small stream from the mountain whose timber it manufactures into boards— from hence for 3 miles we had the road all to ourselves, as rough & steep as possible being a continued clamber over a road full of stones, ruts, & rocks, sometimes with the ascent easy enough but for these impediments, at others extremely steep, and rendered uncommonly difficult for the horses, by the rough points & stones over which they were obliged to

³⁸ Black's Inn was at the foot of South Mountain where the road led to Black's Gap.

pull the carriage by main force— we were often obliged to alight and indeed should have gladly walked the whole distance but for a sun severely hot & penetrating, which broke out after a misty morning;— this sun rendered it so sultry there not being a breath of air that we could not bear the fatigue of walking—

Three miles of this road & nearly 2 hours brought us to the top, where we caught a glimpse of the vast expanse of prospect westward bounded by the next range of mountains nearly at 30 miles distance, but the prospect was but momentary as the Trees stand so thick—that it is soon shut out—

At the summit of the mountain we reached an Inn kept by Newman³⁹—a Dutch man but we found the house a very clean one, & we soon got the landlady to provide us with a beef steak not such an one as we should have thought a fine one in England, as the beef had been corned— however it was very good & with good potatoes, bread & butter made a decent dinner, being anxious to get out as we had as bad a road to descend—

Newmann tells us that he has a farm of 360 Acres here—& it cost him £5 or \$13.33 per acre— it appears very rough— however he says he can make a good deal of meadow & it is astonishing how the perseverance of these Germans, can clear a rough soil & turn every drop of water to profit— he says the stage passes here 3 times a week from Baltimore to Chambersburgh— tho the roots of the mountain are cleared—the main part of it remains in its original wilderness— Deer—& wild Turkeys are plenty & just beginning to be killed— there are also Bears— one family last winter killed 9.— there are some wolves & plenty of Rattlesnakes & Pheasants, but few Partridges—

We left Newmans at 3 OClock, & had a bad road to the bottom of the Mountain, without a solitary settlement— it was literally tumbling from rock to rock—often with a steep descent or precipice on our side— at 4 miles we reach the bottom, & find a rough Inn⁴⁰— a very pretty stream also winds down the hills— after reaching the bottom we had 4 miles more of road not so steep but little less rough before we get over the roots of the Mountain— here there are a number of new settlers, log houses, burnt timber, meadows just getting into order— all shewing that the clearness of the fine lands on each side the mountain prompts [them] to stealing all the parts of its rugged sides

³⁹ Newman's Inn was on the top of South Mountain. Gibbons stopped at this point and identified his innkeeper in 1804 as Mr. Haun. See Gibbons, Notes.

⁴⁰ The location of this inn was near the present site of Caledonia State Park. The stream was probably one of the upper branches of the Yellow Breeches Creek.

which are capable of cultivation— the main mass of the mountain is composed of vast masses of hard rocks—we perceived slate—feldspar, quarts, & a grey mixed sand stone—veins of limestone occur here & there as we ascend— the west side however as we descend is chiefly composed of a soft whitish or grey sand stone & much of the soil is derived from it; being often sandy among the rocks— we soon found the usual accompaniment of sand, viz^t—the dark pitch pine or fir—abound very much— in fact a great proportion of the timber on this side the ridge is of that kind but very little on the east side—which appears to have the best soil— the Timber consists of Chesnut, Oak, & every variety with which other hills abound— the underwood & roots were so thick [and so] added to the fear of snakes that we did not chose to stray any distance from our road—

All our route to day was nearly parrallel to the dividing line between Pennsylvania & Maryland ab^t 25 miles northward of it, & the roads from Baltimore are numerous so that the whole produce of this country goes direct to that town & not to Philadelphia— one Turnpike road is nearly compleated from Baltimore to Chambersburgh⁴¹ & such is the zeal with which the Marylanders are improving the carriage from this state that the produce of this part of it will undoubtedly center in Baltimore—

As we descend the mountains we have fine views over the vale below us bounded by the North mountain at ab^t. 25 Miles distance— it is a long high ridge—the top scarcely indented but perfectly even for a vast distance—

Soon after reaching the foot of the mountain we enter this vale, which is called by distinction the great Valley⁴² & one of the finest in the world extending in a NE & SW direction thro almost the whole of the UStates, bounded by these two ridges of hills which are here called the North & South mountain but take various names as they extend thro the different states, we soon come again to limestone, the stratum of all the middle of this vale— near Chambersburgh we cross a pretty stream—the east branch of the Conococheague which winds thro the valley & empties ab^t. 20 miles to the south into the Patomack— notwithstanding all our exertions we did not reach Chambersburgh till after dusk, as we have wished much not to hazard a ride over these

⁴¹ Gilpin apparently was referring to the road through Hagerstown which would today involve parts of U. S. 40 and 11. He later says a turnpike should be built over the South Mountain to Chambersburg, so he does not mean that route to Baltimore. Livingood, *Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry*, pp. 49, 53.

⁴² In this part of Pennsylvania the name used is the Cumberland Valley.

roads to which we are strangers & which at best are rough & uneven after sunset— we found ourselves however at a most comfortable Inn (Davis's) ⁴³ tho extremely fatigued as we had now found something of the labor of crossing these Pennsylvania hills and experienced the difficulty of accomplishing even 30 miles per day without great exertion

Our reflections on the South Mountain are that bad as it is at present, an excellent Turnpike might be made over it & then the ride would be a matter of no difficulty—nor should we have found it near so laborious, if we had not unfortunately had a very hot day, which prevented our walking as this would have been far easier than our jolting ride—

Our expenses to day were

Last nights bill at Oxford & Servts.	\$4.12½
Bait at Blacks37½
Dinner at Newmanns	1.40

	\$5.90

Sept^r. 19th. We spent the early part of the day at Chambersburg in refitting our carriage, one of our horses being lame, & finding that both they & the driver, suffered much from their being unaccustomed to such roads, we hired a pair of strong active young horses of the country & a young lad to drive them—leaving one of our horses to be refitted against we came back

We had sufficient leisure to walk thro the town which we found a very neat one. it is built in the form of a cross with a square in the center in which is the markett, Court house & other public buildings all of neat brick— the houses extend for some distance along the four streets from whence the roads also extend into the Country— most of the buildings are substantial ones of Stone, or brick, some of them very large—some with Court yards before them which gives it a very neat appearance, more so indeed than almost any country town we had yet seen the houses are chiefly inhabited by Storekeepers Tradesmen, Inns &ca— it is a place of very great resort—Land in the neighbourhood sells for abt. \$60. to \$80 [per acre]— the town contains about 250 houses & 15000 [probably 1500] inhabitants. it was laid out abt. [50] years

⁴³ Davis's Inn in Chambersburg may have been the establishment of Joseph Davis, who in 1790 headed a household of nine males, three females, one free Negro, and one slave. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 117.

⁴⁴ Benjamin Chambers, ironmaster, was the founder of Chambersburg. The Captain Chambers to whom Gilpin refers was probably Benjamin Chambers, Junior. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, pp. 60, 139, 189, 190; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 840.

ago by a person of the name of Chambers⁴⁴ who took up & first settled the land— Capt Chambers one of the family still lives in the town and owns the property around it—

The Conogochegue runs thro the town and is joined also by another stream called Falling Creek⁴⁵ which is a beautiful stream & has a number of Mills upon it— in the town there are 2 Corn Mills—1. paper mill 2 mills for carding cotton & wool for the domestic manufactures of the country which they do at 9 cents per lb. [&] 1. fulling mill for dressing the country cloths—

We remained to dine & left Chambersburgh soon after with our new driver & horses who we find very expert in these roads— our ride for the afternoon was to Loudon⁴⁶ 16 miles

The road is generally a good one that is, a soft natural road—but stony in many places & with a great many small steep hills which being much worn by the Waggon have many places requiring great care; tho in the Valley, the eminences are considerable— we have however in front the broad high ridge of the mountain before us & looking back the South mountain we crossed yesterday— these mark the boundaries of the valley which tho of an irregular surface exhibits from the eminences the appearance of an immense flat plain

After leaving Chambers town we soon lost the limestone soil & have a crumbling argillaceous earth, by no means rich & in some places sandy, producing firs & small stunted oaks, this ridge however does not continue far, & we have again considerable variety of soil, in some places very fine, in others indifferent, with veins of limestone very frequently scattered thro it & in general it is of a more mixed character both in soil & improvement than the other vallies we have described or than the middle parts of this vale— some of the improvements are equal to any we have seen—

We soon begin to discover the uneven surface of the mountain, which tho at a distance it exhibits the appearance of a high flat ridge, here shews its numerous inequalities— abt. 8 miles from Chambersburg we evidently enter among its roots, as the soil becomes more stoney & hilly; within 3 or 4 miles we have ascended considerably from the vale so that the country has the appearance of a flat base with the mountain rising from it as regular as the ravelin of a fortification— when we come

⁴⁵ This stream is the Falling Spring Creek.

⁴⁶ Fort Loudon was a colonial fort on the frontier. The village is at the foot of the eastern slope of the Tuscarora Mountain, a short distance west of the fort site. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1941), *passim*.

nearer we wind among its glens & hollows and were surrounded by a number of bold hills—some of them as pointed as if they were volcanic—the west branch of the Conogocheague⁴⁷ winds close at the foot of the mountain, & on its banks we found a very rough town in which and the neighbourhood are several forges, furnaces, & mills— this town consists of the rudest kind of houses, & takes its name from a Fort near it built in 1755. & named after Lord Loudon. it was then an Indian frontier built to curb their excursions— we found a miserable looking log house for an Inn— however things looked better after a while,— there was but one room below & a troop of Waggoners & ca— our Landlady therefore put us upstairs in a decent kind of loft, where we soon had a tolerable supper—

Our host tells us that land here is abt. \$30 to \$40— that is the best quality with more or less improvements on it— it seems all the mountain has been taken up, but it is thought dear at 25 cents per acre— there are in it Deer, Bear, Turkeys, a few Wolves & Rattlesnakes—

Our bill to day was altogether at Chambersburgh as we had none on the road—for supper, lodging, breakfast, dinner horses, servant. it was \$5—6—

Sept^r. 20 We rose early to day having a rough ride before us, but our landlady who seemed to take more airs in proportion to the indifference of her inn would not hurry herself in getting our breakfast, so that it was 8 OClock before we got away— I found our Landlord more civil, who having found out my name soon made an acquaintance he came from the neighbourhood of the head of Chester⁴⁸ 37 years ago, of course beyond my memory, but he knew my father, he also knew our lands in Indiana having brought up one George Rayne⁴⁹ the son of a man who had been my fathers tenant in Maryland and whom I sent out to settle our Indiana lands in 1786— had the acquaintance

⁴⁷ The West Branch of the Conococheague Creek rises in Amberson Valley and flows through Path Valley to Fort Loudon and beyond to the Potomac River. The Gibbons party crossed it at Fannettsburg, twelve miles north of Fort Loudon. See Gibbons, Notes.

⁴⁸ Head of Chester referred to an area surrounding the upper waters of Chester Creek in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. The Gilpin family owned an estate between the Brandywine Creek and the Chester Creek. George Smith, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1872), "Map of the Early Settlement."

⁴⁹ The Indiana lands of the Gilpin family to which George Rayne had been sent in 1786 were those visited in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, by Joshua and his family on their way home from Pittsburgh. This visit is described in detail later in this *Journal*. Indiana County has a Rayne Township. Contracts and agreements for sales of lands in Pennsylvania, Gilpin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; see Part Four of *Gilpin Journal*.

with Mr Whitesides⁵⁰ commenced last evening it would probably have produced us a better accommodation

As Loudon is immediately at the foot of the North Mountain we prepared to climb it, & soon found the advantage of being on the post or main road,⁵¹ as it is so much improved beyond any other, that it lightens the difficulty of ascending the hills— the road for some distance wound up and down a number of short & steep hills evidently the lower spurrs of the mountain— The road itself is well made winding along the sides, & in general free from stone or rock, all these being removed & in fact it wants nothing but being laid with stone to make it a good turnpike, at this season however it is infinitely better as it was soft & smooth— the general ascent is great but not in many places very steep, we soon found ourselves environed in steep and bold hills all ideas of the ridge which at a distance appeared so even, vanishing— we undoubtedly ascend in a winding direction, and penetrate the mountain by thro what is called a Gap or pass, instead of mounting directly up the steepest part of its side— the road is formed by being dug from the highest side & thrown on the other, which is made even by a battery or wall of stones— of course the lower side, forms a steep or precipice mostly of some feet & often of considerable depth according to the steepness of the hill— in general the sides of the hills are an angle of abt. 25 degrees from perpendicular but they are covered with rocks of every size & form, exhibiting the most rude & inaccessible surface, often in hugh [huge] masses of precipice— the trees are not so thick but the face of the hills can be easily discerned— the surface along the road is every where so rough and so entangled with stones & underwood that we cannot leave the road for a foot.— the trees are of every kind usually growing on American hills—Oaks, & Chesnut being predominant particularly the latter, which seems to delight in this rough soil— there are also many vines of which the grapes are now ripe, but they are very small— the stones of which the hills are composed seem to be varieties of grey sand stone, & in many places dark compact stone resembling basaltes, it is not easy to say whether these are not veins

⁵⁰ Peter Whitesides, innkeeper at Fort Loudon, was a resident of Peters Township, Franklin County. In 1790 he had in his household five males and six females. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 114.

⁵¹ The post road from Philadelphia had run north to Harrisburg and through the Cumberland Valley to Shippensburg. Although two routes were possible from Shippensburg, it is apparent from Gilpin's statement that the post road continued south from Shippensburg to Chambersburg and then west through Fort Loudon to McConnellsburg. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815* gives information about the roads into and out of Pittsburgh.

of limestone, but certainly it is no where predominant.— towards & on the top there are no trees but the dark pitch pine & these are but thinly scattered, their tops all ragged & beaten by the winds, it appears indeed as if the tops of the hills had been burnt, the chesnut, oaks, &ca being mere underwood which can scarcely grow for the violence of the winds

There are no houses or settlements whatever from the foot of the mountain to the top, We then meet a solitary log house⁵² or two, with a little land badly cleared around it, the families deriving their chief support from the cakes beer & whiskey—which they sell to the numerous waggoners who cross the hills

From the top we have noble & extensive views—backward over all the vast plain of Chambersburgh, bounded by the South mountain—westward we have the vast ridge of the Sideling hill direct before us. & the numberless spurs of both this & that interlocking with each other so as to give every variety of form with which [the] mountain prospect abounds

We were about 2 hours ascending the mountain which is called 3 miles—perhaps 4 from where we started— the top is not broad & the descent is infinitely more steep than the ascent— almost as soon as we begin to descend we have the valley below us compleatly at our feet like a carpet or map; in which all the different masses of cultivation & wood are distinctly marked like the different shades of a carpet.— McConnell's town⁵³ with its white houses & road winding thro it, is as distinctly seen as from an air balloon— We have nothing to guide us in judging of the heighth of this hill but I presume it from having often mounted hills in many countries to be 15 or 1700 feet from its base⁵⁴—we had a delightful cool air on the top, & undoubtedly it is far colder here than in the vallies, but nearly the same plants grow here as below & there does not appear any circumstance materially sensible to our feelings to determine any thing respecting the heighth—

The road downward is well made in the manner that all roads down so steep a hill ought to be—that is by a Zig-Zag course—the lower side banked up— it is sufficiently wide every where for two carriages—but the precipice on the lower side is often considerable—& the flat valley

⁵² A long house with its large chimney on the top of this ridge became the nucleus around which grew an inn operated as late as 1938 by Perry E. Smith. Percy E. Smith Papers, privately owned.

⁵³ McConnellsburg is the seat of Fulton County.

⁵⁴ Gilpin's estimate is quite good for the rise is about 1,600 feet from Fort Loudon to the summit of Tuscarora Mountain.

below, appearing foreshortened & diminished adds to the idea we have of its height—

This valley appears well settled & cultivated—about one third of it is cleared—

The north termination of the hill direct into the valley without any spurrs or knobs marks it[s] termination with precision— it is reckoned 6 miles from Loudon to McConnells town—& perhaps 5 may be said to comprize all the Mountain properly so called—having before remarked that yesterday we found ourselves for some time among its eastern spurrs, or base which on the eastern side appear of considerable extent.

We reached McConnells town in 3 hours from Loudon—which time we were told was usually taken— McConnells town is a neat thriving little place of abt. 100 houses, with 3 Corn mills, 1. Oil, 1 fulling & several other mills it was founded about 14 years since, & consists of stores, taverns, &ca for the accommodation of the country—the Valley is of limestone & rich, but as yet improvements are by no means so extensive as in others the lands rate at abt. \$30. per acre that is the improved lands—

We found our landlord Mr. Dillon⁵⁵—a civil & obliging man, he expected us last night having heard of our being on the road, & we were as sorry as himself that we had not reached his house—

The distance from the foot of the north mountain which we had now passed to the Sideling hill which is direct before us is at least 9 miles—but a very small part of this however is Valley ground—the Vale of McConnells town thro which runs Licking Creek or Back run which passes southward to the Potomac being not more than a mile wide— the remainder of this space between the two Mountains is filled up by a ridge or rather several ridges of hills of less height than the mountains themselves— leaving McConnells town therefore we came over these ridges, our road winding up & down a number of hills—the road pretty good except where the heights are abrupt— however there are few stones, the hills appearing composed, chiefly of a soft crumbling slate stone, of red & yellow and slate colors by turns, but no where rich—the timber not being large— there are also few settlements, which is the best proof that the soil is not very fertile—

At 9 miles we came to a tavern called the running pump⁵⁶—a tolerable house but as we had the formidable object of the Sideling

⁵⁵ Mr. Dillon, landlord at McConnellsburg, was not listed for Aire Township in the census of 1800.

⁵⁶ The Running Pump Tavern was at Saluvia in Fulton County.

hill to encounter, & the afternoon was advancing apace, we were anxious to get on for tho our new driver & horses prove excellent, we do not wish to encounter these hills with their woods, rocks, & precipices after night.

We found the Sideling road as well made as the former, but infinitely more stony owing to the difference of soil— it is not steeper than the last, but by no means so winding, owing to this, we were not more than an hour ascending it which is called 2 miles, & we judge that from the directness of the road the ascent was more considerable— the stones, wood, & soil of this hill are so near those of the North Mountain that it is needless to describe them again— there is no appearance of any minerals, on the top are the same blighted appearance of the trees, either from fire or tempest, or both— the prospect & features of this mountain are however grander than the former & certainly more elevated— the top of this hill is also far broader than the other—as we rode between 2 & 3 miles on what may be called the top which is a kind of rough plain, winding up & down rugged knolls of rocks, by far the worst part of the whole road— on the top are many rude houses & as rude improvements, the soil appearing covered with a barren white sand stone unfit for cultivation—

The view from the top of this hill is indeed very fine, as we now discern the number and form of the several ridges all of them being distinctly seen,—the main ridges extending in long mostly regular [lines], but broken in many places & the spurs or offsets interlocking in every shape or direction from the pointed cone to, flat, blunt & angular terminations— the prospect is immense every way, but particularly westward where the vast body of the Allegany at abt. 20 miles distant seems to preponderate over all others in point of majesty— the Laurel hill beyond it is also seen frequently peeping in some places above it—

Our descent from the top was by a very good road, less zig zag than that of the former mountain & like the ascent more direct, but the precipice is much greater, & the sun having set—the whole expanse below seemed to float in shade so that scarce any objects were distinct, but a confused mass of mountain, wood, & cultivation,— the Allegany, & hills beyond it towering above all were yet illuminated by the sun—the moon having risen early assisted us with its light & our road proving excellent we reached Mauns Inn⁵⁷—near the Juniata river in good time where we found decent accommodation—

⁵⁷ Maun's Inn was at Breezewood in Bedford County. Joseph Gibbons stopped at this place in travelling west and in returning. However, he referred to the inn as B. Martin's. See Gibbons, Notes; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

Our bill last night	\$4.10
Bait at McConnells	.25
Dinner	1.70

	\$6.05

Sept^r 21.

Our Journey was from Mauns, to Mesgars⁵⁸ 29 miles

We left our Inn early—& in one mile descended to the Juniata,⁵⁹ by a good tho stony road, the soil indifferent, & the substrata a hard slaty rock— we forded the Juniata which is abt. 50 yards wide & the river now very low, but in freshes it is deep & there is a ferry across, it is a beautiful stream, & we crossed in the center of a long cove or bend—the sides for a great way a perpendicular slate rock, with wood every where peeping thro— on arriving at the opposite point, and ascending a high hill, the river appears like a beautiful Amphitheatre bending round the point, so that we rode for a considerable distance on a ridge with a high precipice on each side & the river at our feet under both of them— we continue over a very stony road, tho not steep, generally with slaty rocks, here & there intersected with limestone— a good deal of the soil appears composed of the crumbling shelly slate, but is poor— about 15 miles down the river to our right is a vast bank of coal which is carried down the river in boats to the Susquehanna & Columbia— at 8 miles we reached Tate's Tavern⁶⁰ at Bloody run where is a neat little Village—with the Juniata running thro it whose banks we had accompanied ever since crossing it— it is every where a beautiful gentle stream of abt 50 yards wide very clear & its banks fringed with trees—the hills rising immediately from it— Bloody Run takes its name from a battle fought between the Indians & Whites in which the latter were all killed— it is close at the foot of two ranges of mountain which are very near to each other & run thro the country nearly parrallel leaving scarcely any valley between them, these are called the Warriors Ridge, and Tusseys mountain—

Leaving Tate's we came on to Bedford 8 miles— Luckily the Juniata

⁵⁸ Mesgars Inn was several miles west of Manns Choice in Bedford County. In 1800 the name John Metzgar is listed by the census taker for that area. William H. Koontz, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties* (New York, 1906), II, 204. U. S. Census of 1800, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

⁵⁹ This stream is the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River.

⁶⁰ Tate's Tavern was at Bloody Run, which was renamed Everett. John Tate was the proprietor. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 20; Clement A. Buckley, *Diary of a Journey to Ohio in 1818*, privately owned; U. S. Census of 1800, Cumberland Valley and Londonderry Townships, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

has broke thro the two last mentioned mountains so compleatly to their base that winding along its banks we had a level road from which the hills rise on each side very high covered with trees— among the crumbling masses which have been tumbled from them we observe slate of various kinds, limestone, & a variety of other hard stones such as are common in the mountains— we kept the Juniata all the way on our left the stream still preserving the same beauty— near Bedford a branch called Dunnings creek which appears to be the largest one strikes off to our right & we cross it on a bridge

We found Bedford a neat town of abt. 200 houses—many of them very good it is the capital of the County & is rather an old town being founded in [1760]. & was continued as a frontier against the Indians till the close of [the] last war⁶¹— it does not improve so much as other towns owing to its being surrounded by mountains & not having so large an extent of rich country as some other towns to support it— it is however beautifully situated on a handsome little eminence with mountains all around it and sufficient space in the valley for a number of good farms— the navigation of the Rays town branch of the Juniata is good in freshes for arks & other boats to the Susquehanna & flour is carried to Baltimore for abt \$1 1/2—per barrell

We dined at Stuarts⁶² a neat Inn where we found some company who frequent the mineral springs⁶³ abt 1 1/2 miles distance these are said to contain a considerable quantity of carbonic acid gaz, and magnesia we had not time however either to see or examine them

After leaving Bedford we had a stony road for 5 miles to the division or forks of the old & new road to Pittsburgh & took the latter⁶⁴— we soon began to ascend—an elevated hill called the Dry ridge, from its having no streams rising in it— at the foot of this ridge is a beautiful bottom, called Harmans bottom with some fine meadows which are worth \$40 per acre— the dry ridge is at first pretty steep, but the road

⁶¹ The Revolutionary War.

⁶² Stuart's Tavern, Bedford, was probably operated in 1790 by Thomas Stuart. He was a resident of the township but not of the town of Bedford in 1800. But in the latter year the census also listed Joseph Stuart. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 21. U. S. Census of 1800, Providence and Colrain Townships, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

⁶³ The Gilpins visited Bedford Springs and described the resort and hotel when they returned from Pittsburgh.

⁶⁴ The new road was the left fork toward Somerset and Redstone which the Gibbons party had taken also. This is now Pennsylvania Route 31. The fork in the road was earlier called Bonnet's for Sheriff Jacob Bonnet. William P. Schell, *The Annals of Bedford County, Pennsylvania* (Bedford, 1907), p. 52; Gibbons, Notes; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

otherwise good having no stone, but altogether composed of the soft crumbling slate stone which we have found always covered with a poor soil— there are however many new settlements making upon it— after a variety of successive eminences, at abt 2 miles we gained the summit & here had a magnificent view of the sun setting behind the Alleganey— we then had an excellent road to Mescars [*sic*] an Inn kept by a Dutchman on the top of the ridge

Our bill last night was	4.70
Bait at Tates	20
Dinner at Bedford	2.20

\$7.11 [note error]

Sept^r 22d our Journey was from Mesgars to Somerset,⁶⁵ 25 miles.

We left our lodgings early & continued on the Dry Ridge, which appears evidently a spur or base of the Allegany Mountain as there is no material descent, between them, and the Dry ridge is more like a long causeway projecting from the mountain at nearly a right angle as we appeared to ride on the top of the ridge, with a descent being on each side; the road is not bad nor stony, the soil being composed of the crumbling slate we have so often remarked which makes the surface smooth— as we approach the Mountain we have blue slate and a hard shelly calcareous sand stone both with some appearance of vegetable petrification at 10 miles we arrived at the foot of the mountain⁶⁶ where we found a neat Inn kept by Imhoff⁶⁷ and regretted we had not reached there last night; having both a bad lodging and breakfast we were quite hungry enough to take a second one of bread, butter, cheese & milk while our horses were baiting

We ascended the Alleganey which is about 1 1/2 mile to the top, & the ascent being neither very steep or rugged we came it in 35 minutes, at the top we found a large new stone house the handsomest we had seen for a long time— it is an Inn kept by—Weyand⁶⁸— the top of the mountain consists wholly of a coarse freestone formed of small round

⁶⁵ Somerset is the seat of the county of the same name. It was a part of Bedford County in 1790. The stop in Somerset shows that the route followed was closer to that of the modern Pennsylvania Turnpike than of the more northerly U. S. 30.

⁶⁶ This was the Allegheny Mountain, one of the major ridges of the chain.

⁶⁷ Henry Imhoff's Inn was at the eastern foot of the Allegheny Mountain. Gilpin was impressed with the fine accommodations available at this mountain inn. Koontz, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties*, II, 204.

⁶⁸ Weyand Inn was near the boundary between Bedford and Somerset counties. Henry Wyand was listed as a resident in 1800. U. S. Census of 1800, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

pebbles imbedded in a hard sand— the pebbles appear of a very even size in each mass but the different masses exhibit them from the size of a hazelnut until it becomes so small as to unite with the sand in a close compact freestone— a number of millstone were cut & laying on the sides of the road formed out of the coarse[s]t stone which is hard & in compact masses we found the same species of stone on all the west side of the mountain as far as Somerset which is 14 miles from the top— the descent of the mountain is about 2 miles & very easy in point of steepness but in many places rugged— there is a fine stream on the top of the mountain & many on its sides, the soil appears a deep loam approaching to clay & it is so far more wet than other places we had passed that very deep ruts were still remaining— it is said to be always raining on the mountain owing to its being the highest ridge & condensing the clouds both from the east and the west— this no doubt may be in a great degree true, but now the mountain itself has at least proportionably shared an extreme drought which has prevailed for more than 2 months over all the country west of the Susquehanna and greatly injured the crops of Indian Corn, Buckwheat & grass— to day as we passed the dry ridge—the view expanding itself over Harmans bottom & a variety of vallies among the mountains they were all enveloped in deep fogs & we perceived as the sun rose that they floated in light clouds up the mountain where they were condensed into heavy black clouds which gave such appearances of rain & storm that we fully expected to realize the general character of the mountain in this respect— fortunately however we crossed it without rain

The character of this mountain is rather different from any we have crossed, the soil on it is better, and there is by far a greater proportion of land fit for cultivation— we have also remarked that there are many springs & streams of water the heads of the smaller branches of the Potomac & Ohio between which this is the dividing ridge— it is very much settled & cultivated on our present road, and as we are informed is generally so for a great extent along the mountain, there being less of entire forest than on the other mountains nor is it covered with those hugh [sic] & endless masses of rock— the Timber is better, consisting not only of very large chesnut and oak but of the usual variety of Trees common to the country— the western side terminates—here at once in a plain & the soil from the foot of the mountain is also good and improved into many fine farms for a considerable distance on our road— we stopped to bait abt 9 miles west of the mountain;— here, & between this & Somerset the land is not so good there being some low but meager ridges— Coal, which is so scarce to the eastward of

the mountain, now becomes common & of the finest kind— limestone also abounds— in some places these approach to the sides & are found on the mountain itself— they are also almost every where diffused thro this country

We were now at the precise time of the Equinox when the storms which almost uniformly accompany it on the coast of the ocean were to be expected every day— it is said that these storms are not known westward of the mountain, which so far arrests all the vapor of easterly winds as to produce nothing but dry winds from that quarter over the western country— a few miles before reaching Somerset it became very black & we had heavy rain for a few minutes, however it so cleared up as to leave no proof against the general opinion with respect to the clearness of the western atmosphere— very early in the evening we reached Websters⁶⁹ Inn in Somerset a comfortable house—

Coal is generally used here as fuel— it is found in digging the wells of the town & is plentiful in its neighbourhood—

our bill this morning . . . was	4.18
our bait at Imhoffs	31.
Ditto . . . at Wills	93.
	<hr/>
	\$5.42

Sept^r. 23. Somerset where we now are, is a small town, the country having not been much settled more than abt 20 or 25 years. it stands on a pretty eminence, & has many good settlements around it— it has been a County town since 1795. when Somerset was first erected into a county being formerly part of Bedford, it contains abt. 100 houses & 3 to 400 inhabitants a neat stone Court house & Jail—the houses are principally taverns, stores, & tradesmens houses.— the land about here is very good for pasturage, oats and Indian Corn but not so favorable for wheat— improved farms sell so high as \$20. to \$30 per acre—but other lands will not bring more than \$5 or \$6. & if in stony ground & on the mountains degenerate to 25 cents per acre, all their value depending on the quality of the lands & the improvements made on it— the establishment of the stages on this road has had considerable effect in improving & raising the lands— the old road called the Penn-

⁶⁹ Captain John B. Webster was the collector of customs for the United States in Somerset County. In June, 1794, he was visited by the Whiskey Insurrectionists and forced to resign his office. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV (1876), 7. Koontz, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties*, II, 154.

sylvania road and also Braddocks road⁷⁰ from being formed during the campaign when Gen^l. Braddock marched against Fort Du Quesne & the Indians in 1754—runs 15 or 20 miles to the northward from Bedford direct to Greensburg— there seems various opinions whether it is not the better road, as it is certainly shorter & has better accommodations, but it seems to be more hilly however this lower road called the glade road suited us the better, as we wished to proceed to Brownsville—

We left Somerset abt 1/2 past 9. some time being taken up in refitting & getting many little matters we wanted— our Journey was but 14 miles, from Somerset to Finkles,⁷¹ a tavern on the top of Laurel hill,

We came for 5 miles on the main Pittsburgh road—hilly & somewhat stony, however with many good settlements & nice rich pieces of meadow— the oats appear very fine, and were just now cutting which is much later than near Philad^a.— at 5 miles we struck off to the left by a small cross road⁷² which not being much used was solitary tho not very bad, it gave us an opportunity however of seeing the settlements off the main road— these consist of many good farms scattered among the woods— the improvements are generally good but the farms have a newer appearance than we had seen, a great deal of girdled timber yet remaining in the fields— girdled timber means large dead trees, which have been purposely killed—in making new settlements—the trees are cut all round in the winter compleatly thro the bark which prevents the sap from rising in the Spring and kills the Tree—the underwood is then burnt, and grubbed out. & no foliage being on the trees it is ploughed & sowed with grain, which grows well, especially from the richness of the new soil, the farmer then proceeds at his leisure every year to cut & burn the girdled timber, which also decays & is blown down by the winds, so that in a few years he gets all down, as far as it can be any impediment to his tillage & leaves the rest to blow down—and be got away as he can— it requires perhaps 20 years before the land is compleatly cleared to the eye but

⁷⁰ Gilpin is evidently confusing the Braddock Road with the Forbes Road built by Colonel Bouquet four years later. Braddock's road was south of the route they were travelling at Somerset. Wayland F. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1948), pp. 102-10.

⁷¹ Finkles Tavern, at the summit of Laurel Hill, was near the village of New Lexington, Somerset County.

⁷² It would appear that Gilpin here turned south on a road following Laurel Hill Creek.

tho this timber thus standing certainly depreciates from the beauty of the scene it is by no means as unsightly as may be supposed as the farm houses fields & meadows peeping from among the trees give a pleasing idea of the progress of improvement—in the forests

We joined the road which leads from Bedford to Berlin⁷³ & from thence to Uniontown after abt 2 miles of this cross road, & tho we had formed but a bad idea of the state of any road in this country off of the stage road we were disappointed— tho more narrow & solitary it was by no means worse than we had travelled— the country is now different from any we had come thro; the whole substrata is free stone, the soil appears a yellow loam, deep & rich, sometimes approaching to a coarse rich sand, the hills are more short & round but not so stony, tho many ridges of the free stone cross the road— in some places there appears a deep red ferrugineous earth, & small coally schale with their veins of coal peeping out on the sides of the hills— about 8 miles from Somerset we crossed one of the branches of Laurel Creek which is itself a branch of the Youkioagency river— Laurel creek is a stream abt. 20 yards wide abt. 1 mile further we crossed a second branch where we found a neat settlement consisting of a plantation & several mills belonging to one Jones.⁷⁴

We now prepared to ascend the Laurel hill another of these formidable mountains which we had been taught to dread beyond all the others, but so little dependance is to be placed on the description of travellers here, that we found it the most easy & agreeable of all the ridges— its ascent is long & more tedious which perhaps is the cause of complaint but it is far less stony than any other and the soil being a soft sandy loam we had a great deal of fine road free from stone altogether; not but there were many sharp knolls, where ridges of stone crossed the roads & made it very tiresome for the horses— we walked more to day than on any of the ridges, but this arose less from necessity than choice as the day was cool & the walking pleasant—

In point of appearance this is the wildest in its scenery of all the mountains— from the foot to the top which is full 4 miles, there is

⁷³ The Gibbons group had followed this more southerly route. Somewhat west of Berlin this becomes Pennsylvania Routes 653 and 711. See Gibbons, Notes.

⁷⁴ William Jones's Mill was on Laurel Hill Creek near the point where Somerset, Fayette, and Westmoreland counties meet. It is not to be mistaken for the town of Jones Mills which exists today a little farther to the north in Westmoreland County. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792; Koontz, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties*, II, 193-94; C. M. Bomberger, *A Short History of Westmoreland County* (Jeannette, Pa., 1941), p. 45.

not a solitary intermission of the forest from its primeval wildness— the soil in general is strong & rich & large spaces of level land, on these the Chesnut grow to a prodigious size & almost as thick as they stand— there is also a great deal of oak & other excellent timber—& so far as we could judge the proportion of good land which may be brought into cultivation is considerable— there are a number of veins of Limestone—Iron—& Coal—and in general this hill has the appearance of being rich in minerals—

We arrived at Finkles—an Inn on the top of the mountain kept by a pleasant & attentive Dutchman who gave us a hearty welcome— We had been—5 hours from Somerset, of which 2 were taken up in ascending the mountain 4 miles— tho the day had not far advanced, and we could have gone some distance farther we found ourselves compelled to remain here for the night; because as we were told there is no place to lodge at in less than 20 miles which it was impossible to reach— we therefore got a good dinner & prepared to make ourselves contented for the evening

To compensate our stay we found our Inn in a most romantic & delightful situation— it stands on an eminence looking to the South east with an expanse of meadow in the front, which is soon terminated by a high round, woody top of the mountain over the decline of which on both sides are peeps of distance over the whole country we had passed as far as the Allegany Mountain which bounds the prospect.

The forest & stream round this house abound with every thing which can render it the favorite spot for a Sportman to repose the streams are full of fine trout, & the woods have plenty of Deer, Bear, & Turkies— our Landlord says the deer & Bears often come into his meadow close to the house & he had a flock of wild Turkies last winter in his Barn yard— he had no game killed now in the house, & his men were all out at work in the fields & as I had no desire to traverse the woods we were content to dine on Beef steak— he promises however if we come back & give him a days notice he will have every article on the table—

He says his farm consists of abt. 400. acres for which with the improvements he gave \$6. per acre 5 years ago— he has since bought 200 more for \$8. & the whole would now bring \$8 or \$10— our Landlord whom we found a very open, & intelligent German gave us his history which shews something of the progress of the early settlements of this province; his grandfather was a German protestant of Alsace who left it on the troubles there, & persecution of the protestants & went over to England in the reign of Queen Ann, he came over with a number

of Germans as soldiers in an expedition under Governor Nicholls⁷⁵ against Canada after which lands were allotted to the army in New York— his Grandfather & father remained in New York [as] tenants on Livingstons Manor where he was born, & came into Pennsylvania during the American War— a number of the original settlers however who came over with his Grandfather removed from there into Pennsylvania & settled in the Tulpehocken Valley⁷⁶ so early as 1740 under Thomas Penn— our host himself was a dealer in horses & exported them to the West Indies before the American war when he became a Contractor to the American Army during which time he married in Pennsylvania & has lived there ever since—

Our afternoon was devoted to various employments—Henry to climbing a Chesnut tree & getting Chesnuts with the Landlords Grand children—Mary at writing & her needle & myself to this journal—our Landlord sitting by and telling us a great deal of his own story & enquiring ours— Mary, & Henry are every where interesting objects we tell the people as we go that they are English, & have come over from England which excites wonderful curiosity & interest— Henry is every where noticed & liked, as he behaves extremely well—

Our bill for this day was dearer than any before owing to the high charge of our Landlord at Somerset who treated us very well but charged us instead of the usual price we had paid which was about \$4. for the same fare \$6—

We spent nothing however on the road

Sept^r. 24.—Our Journey was from Finkles over the Laurel hill & Chesnut Ridge to Connellsville—22 miles—

We left Finkles about 7. OClock—& proceeded over the top of the Chesnut Ridge the country as wild as possible being entirely the thickest Forest without any settlements—the road stoney tho not steep & the woods chiefly of Chesnut— after a few miles we saw a flock of 8

⁷⁵ In 1709 Colonel Francis Nicholson tried to invade Canada via Lake Champlain. He was driven back and the English fleet which was to have co-operated with him was sent to Portugal. The next year Nicholson, now a general, captured Port Royal and occupied Nova Scotia; but he was again unsuccessful in an attempt to invade Canada in 1711 with a fleet and 5,000 men. The failure of this latter expedition was used by the ministry in its efforts to reduce the influence of the Duke of Marlborough with Queen Anne. It is possible that Gilpin did not know of the obscure Nicholson expeditions and confused him with Colonel Richard Nicholls, the conqueror of New Netherland in 1664. Richard had been dead, however, for about thirty years when Queen Anne began her reign. Sir George Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 230, 342; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, V (1877), 526-889.

⁷⁶ Tulpehocken Valley is in Berks County in southeastern Pennsylvania.

or 10 wild Turkeys on the road who at our approach walked very leisurely into the woods; as these are one of the wildest species of game & the soonest banished by the approach of Man we were on the lookout against a less inoffensive kind viz^t Bears who are also frequently seen on the road by Travellers, but we were lucky enough to escape any visit from them, our servants also who were on the lookout for Rattlesnakes could find none— abt 6 miles we met in a very solitary part of the woods a light waggon with yearly meeting friends going from Redstone to Baltimore meeting⁷⁷— soon afterwards we crossed a small branch of Indian run⁷⁸—at which there was the appearance of a settlement that had been abandoned— we had now descended Laurel hill, & began to ascend [*sic*] a kind of intermediate ridge between it and the Chesnut ridge— a mile or two afterwards we came to the main branch of Indian run, where was a settlement consisting of a saw mill & some houses,⁷⁹ two or three other settlements & some very wretched Inns are also scattered in this distance, which otherwise continues the wildest we had experienced—and continually over a very rough road winding up one steep & down another till we reached Eutleys⁸⁰ a small Dutch Inn 13 miles from Finkles— in this distance we had consumed 5 hours & a half it being impossible to get the carriage faster notwithstanding our horses were excellent & we walked a considerable part of the way, it being too rough at all to remain in the carriage—

We found Eutleys a log house of the roughest construction, the floor being laid with logs hewed tolerably smooth we found it however extremely clean and our Landlord a very nice civil man, luckily too, I found in conversation that he was the father in law of Adam Jacobs⁸¹

⁷⁷ These were Quakers from Redstone on their way to Baltimore for the Yearly Meeting which had supervision over the Redstone Quakers. Gerard T. Hopkins, *Journal*, and Gibbons, *Notes*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁸ Indian Creek is a branch of the Youghiogeny River.

⁷⁹ Normalville in Fayette County.

⁸⁰ Eutley's Inn was about nine miles northeast of Connellsville. Eutley was the father-in-law of Adam Jacobs of Redstone. Possibly the name is for the same man as the entry Christian Eutsey in the census of 1790. Eutsey was a resident of Bullskin Township, where this inn was located. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 104.

⁸¹ Adam Jacobs was the Gilpin's agent at Redstone. The Jacobs Family had been in Fayette County for many years. Jacobs Creek, with many millsites, forms part of the boundary between Fayette and Westmoreland counties. In 1790 John Jacobs lived at Brownsville and had a household of three males and six females, and in 1800 Adam was a householder in Brownsville. Bomberger, *History of Westmoreland County*, p. 45; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 108; U. S. Census of 1800, Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

our Agent at Redstone—such incidents does that universally talk & enquiry which is used here bring about, indeed we have found our interest so great in making a direct acquaintance with our Landlords, & Landladies that we uniformly pursue it. I enter into enquiries about their lands—Mary to talk with the women & their children & Henry generally to play with them; our history soon comes out, & all we are going to see & do, which generally brings about some acquaintanceship & seldom fails to produce their utmost efforts to please us, & at parting they always beg us to come back & tell us how much venison, Turkies and other things they will provide for us— we found the friends we had met on the road had lodged here last night so no doubt they have good beds— we got Bread—Butter—Eggs—& milk while our horses were feeding, & as usual our Landlords history— he came from Wertemberg abt. 25 years ago, & lived some time near Frederick town in Maryland & abt 5 years ago settled here, he paid \$1.33. for his land 211. acres wholly in the woods— he has now got a considerable quantity of meadow & upland cleared, & tolerable houses & Barns—& says his land will bring \$8 per acre— the principal crops here as well as ever since we came from Somerset are Oats, Indian Corn, Rye, & Hay— the coldness of the mountains or the soil does not suit wheat so well— good land brings from 40 to 50 bus of oats—& they sell for 33 cents—Ind Corn for 50—& Hay for \$8— the two first of them are as high as in Philadelphia—the wheat not more than half the price— this perhaps is owing to the immense carriage of this Country which consumes Oats, Ind Corn & Hay—& to the great distance of a market for wheat & flour—

Eutleys is in a very wild place on the top of the Chesnut Ridge, he says not long since a bear came close to the house & carried off a hog out of the penn— he displayed the skin of a large Rattlesnake he had killed some time ago— I have perhaps said too much about these animals but few things can give a juster idea of the state of the country, for these animals generally vanish in proportion to its cultivation.

We left Eutleys, & in about one mile reached the brow of the Chesnut ridge,⁸² where all the Mountains now being passed, we looked over to the rich & delightful country of Redstone watered by the head streams of the Ohio—the Youghiogeny & Monongahela— I had often heard of this view & been particularly desired by my brother to attend to it, but I confess it exceeded all my expectations & is certainly the most rich & sublime view I ever beheld— we alighted from our carriage

⁸² Chestnut Ridge is the most westerly of the main ridges of the Alleghenies.

& stood on the pinnacle of the mountain, where the trees did not intercept our view. the whole country westward was spread out below us to a prodigious extent—indeed beyond what we have an idea of— immediately below it was a mixture of innumerable small round hills, such as the district of Redstone is composed of—divided into patches of forest, meadow, & field every where dotted with houses—& settlements and in this manner receding into [the] distance—not like a flat plain, but a continued variety of ground prodigiously checquered in shade till without the appearance of any ridge or mountain, the lines of blue became fainter & fainter, till closed by a stretch along the western horizon as regular as the line of the ocean—

We now wound down the side of the Chesnut ridge which tho it appeared almost a precipice from where we stood, yet as the road descended we had it very stony & rough and a continual succession of mounting & descending steep after steep all forming the general descent of the mountain & its spurrs or offsets— this continued 9 miles & we thought, the number of the hills & points without end—& that we should scarcely ever reach the beautiful country we had seen below—we reached a small eminence however which was to be our last, for just below we found the Youghiogeny most beautifully winding between high hills, with an expanse of meadow & flat grounds on its banks among which was seated Connellsville a pretty neat town—in which we arrived & found ourselves at a most comfortable Inn kept by one Barnes⁸³— of this Inn we had heard a great deal, but found it beyond the description— our Landlord & Landlady were Quakers— she a decent neat woman, both of them educated in Jersey—& we found ourselves more like being received at Ury⁸⁴ than at an Inn—

I soon found acquaintance; one Lamb⁸⁵ a sadler who formerly lived at the Head of Chester came immediately, & recognized me having

⁸³ Levan Barnes was a resident here with a household of four males and three females in 1790 and was still a resident of Dunbar Township in 1800. His household had increased to five males and five females. But Dunbar Township in that year also had householders named William Barnes and Lenard Barnes. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 104; U. S. Census of 1800, Dunbar Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

⁸⁴ Ury was the name of the Gilpin Estate near Abingdon Meetinghouse outside of Philadelphia. Joshua and his family lived in the city. See Note 318.

⁸⁵ John Lamb was a resident of Bedford County in 1790. In 1800 he was a resident of Franklin Township, Fayette County, with a household of seven males and six females. But in the same township was George Lamb with four children under ten years of age and a solitary male named Michael Lamb. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 23; U. S. Census of 1800, Franklin Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, n.p.

never seen me since my return from England— I enquired after a family of the Gibsons⁸⁶ who had formerly been tenants of our Brandywine mills—& found that tho they came here ab 15 or 20 years past very poor, a large family of them were among the most respectable & wealthy people of the country

So soon as we had refreshed ourselves—we walked to John Gibsons abt 1/2 a mile below the town & found his house an elegant free stone one, built abt. 100 feet from the brink of the river which is here a precipice of about 50 feet fringed with wood— just below his house are his works which consist of a large Corn mill, a forge & slitting mill—his furnace being some distance up the country.— nothing could exceed the neatness & comfort of his settlement, nor beauty of his situation—

One of the first objects which attracted our attention was his coal bank from whence he draws the Coals for his works & we immediately proceeded to view it, descending the precipice by a road little less than perpendicular— the river here forming a sweep—has laid open its bank almost with the nicety of a chizzell— this bank as I have said before is abt. 50 feet high— the strata on the water is entirely of Coal laid open like the side of a house—abt 10 feet in heighth—& still deeper below the level of the stream— they have therefore only to dig directly into the Bank—& to throw the coal into boats— in order however to go methodically to work & to prevent the upper part of the precipice from tumbling over them—they carry caves or shafts directly into the bed of coal leaving between each cave a large space for support— 8 or 10 of these caves are thus formed which they have preferred to carry them so deep into the hill as to have the coals to wheel any distance— outside of the caves is a small bank between them & the water which serves as a kind of landing to approach with the boats— the heighth of the Coal being about 10 feet above the river—abt. 8 feet is worked which leaves a sufficient descent from the floor of the caves for the water to run off & not so near the roof as to take bad coal— above the coal is several feet of a mixed kind of bad coal & iron abounding in Sulphur, & in vitriol, efflorescing in white & yellow flowers & chrystals above this is a stratum of rich iron stone some inches thick—& then a band of black limestone rock so hard as evidently to bear a polish—

⁸⁶ John Gibson was the father of Thomas Gibson of Connellsville. The Gibson family was one of the most important ironmaking families in western Pennsylvania with interests in many forges and furnaces. John Gibson fought in Ohio during the American Revolution. In 1800 a John Gibson was listed as a resident of Dunbar Township of Fayette County. Caleb Atwater, *A History of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1838), p. 117; Myron T. Sharp and William H. Thomas, *A Guide to the Old Stone Blast Furnaces in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1966), pp. 46-47.

above this are a variety of strata consisting of allum schale & other slate stones which require more examination than I had time to bestow on it— as the precipice was very difficult a boat was ordered in which we embarked from the coal caves & were soon landed at the mills near the house below— a more interesting spectacle of a colliery I certainly never saw—

Coal abounds in the same manner, in numerous places above & below the town which is supplied with it at 4 cents per bushell delivered at the door—& wood at \$1. per cord— Iron is found in very thin veins all over the country but seldom in large masses except on the mountains or their spurs— limestone also abounds, & the three articles are found together or so near each other as to be perfectly convenient— it is this circumstance chiefly and the rich soil of the neighbouring country which has so rapidly improved it— there are also many other minerals, particularly lead, & a silver mine is said to have been lately discovered— there seems no doubt but the Chesnut ridge & Laurell hill which immediately skirt this country & cross the Youghiogeny just above the town abound in minerals especially iron and they have also this advantage that for a long distance back these mountains compose a district of so poor a soil that they will probably be kept in woods & afford a vast supply for many years to come— the Yo[ug]hiogeny is navigable from about 3 miles above the town to the Ohio & of course gives an immense outlet for all the produce of this country— the union therefore of wood, coal, iron & perhaps a variety of other minerals with water carriage to so vast a market seems to destine it to be a great manufacturing district— there are already 7. furnaces & as many forges & slitting Mills in this County all of them upon or nearly the foot of the mountains—for tho in the rest of the district Coal is in profusion and iron & limestone appear yet iron is in smaller quantities & the country too valuable to be retained in wood— the works therefore extends almost wholly along the foot of the hills— the iron made in the furnaces is chiefly converted into castings & bar iron, nail rods sheet iron &c & sent down the Ohio in Arks, for the supply of the western country which is the chief market—

The only disadvantage attending this manufacture is the thinness of the veins of Iron ore— there are a variety of kinds chiefly bog ore & iron stone.— & the banks of coal where open exhibit as in Gibsons strata of coal—iron stone—limestone—alumine & perhaps other substances in horizontal layers over each other the veins of iron in these however are very thin—& are not worked— it is chiefly those ores which are found detached that are used— there are said to be some banks

discovered which have the appearance of furnishing great quantities particularly at the works of Masons⁸⁷ abt. 4 miles—southward—& no doubt as the vast tract of Mountain is explored veins sufficiently rich & copious will be discovered—

Connellsville has been laid out abt 15 years—& is a thriving town of Stores, tradesmens houses &ca— it now contains abt. 100 houses & 600 inhabitants—tho to appearance from above the town it stands low, the bank from the lowest part to the river is steep & 15 to 20 feet high— within this distance it is improper to build as the river is subject to periodical risings in the spring & autumn to the height of 10 to 15 feet. when it approaches to the top of the Banks— there is a wooden toll bridge over the river, from appearance it seems to be at least 150 yards in length & stands 20 feet above the present surface of the water— I estimate the river at 100 yards wide, & perhaps 50 more when the freshes fill the banks on each side, the rise being from 10 to 15 feet.

The view every way is romantically beautiful, we agreed that it was extremely similar to Colebrooke Dale⁸⁸ in England— the river however appears larger than the Severn and the expanse of meadow on the flat area immediately above it is far more beautiful— the foliage is also infinitely superior as the hills here are all covered with the grandest original forests—

The navigation of the Youghiogeny upwards is not easily practicable for more than three miles above the town as it then enters the Laurel hill & becomes impeded by rocks— below this & indeed at the town there are mill dams stretched across the river— these while they serve the essential purposes of manufacture—do not materially injure the navigation, for it is not until the rise of the river takes place that navigation is practicable on account of shoals & other obstructions, and when the waters are high—the boats go over the dams all obstacles being reduced to nothing by the fullness of the stream— the dams I must observe are not high as they are wanted chiefly when

⁸⁷ Isaac Meason was a very important iron manufacturer and lawyer in western Pennsylvania. He had built a fine stone mansion south of Connellsville in 1802 and operated the first reverberatory iron furnace and rolling mill in America beginning in 1817. Sharp and Thomas, *Old Stone Blast Furnaces*, pp. 52-53; Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, p. 172; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 6; Richard T. Wiley, *Monongahela: The River and its Region* (Butler, Pa., 1937), p. 206.

⁸⁸ Colebrooke Dale was the iron center from which Thomas Rutter derived the name for the first furnace in Pennsylvania built in 1720. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, *passim*.

the water is low & the owners are bound to fix lock gates or pay all damages accruing to the navigation—

Our bill today	
Last nights	\$6. 1.
at Eutleys	68
	<hr/>
	\$6.69

PART TWO

In the Redstone Country

September 25 to September 28

Sept^r. 25th Journey from Connellsville to Brownsville⁸⁹ 23. miles—

We now bid adieu to the mountains in which we had toiled for 5 days by a rugged course of 120 miles and crossing the Bridge⁹⁰ at Connellsville entered at once into the western district of the United States & the country of the Mississippi having passed the barrier which divide the maritime or Atlantic coasts from the interior— a country altogether of new features is now placed before us.— and particularly this district of Redstone, which originally took its name from a Fort erected during the colonial wars with the French & Indians upon the banks of the Monongahela—where the settlements first began— the name is now stri[c]tly speaking confined to a small creek at Brownsville has assumed the scite and name of Redstone Fort—but it is in general given to all that district which extends from the Laurel hill to the Monongahela & comprehends one large settlement begun abt. the year 1765 or soon after the peace of 1763. & since extended over a country peculiar in a great degree in its features, but of which the whole is remarkably alike—

This country of Redstone has been compared and I think with great propriety to a baskett of Eggs, as it is entirely composed of hills of every size mingled with each other—none of them rugged, but round, tho steep and with every variety from the slope of an egg laid side ways, to the roundness of its larger end and the pointed form of its

⁸⁹ Brownsville is on the Monongahela River between Dunlaps Creek and Redstone Creek.

⁹⁰ The toll bridge over the Youghiogheny River at Connellsville was opened in 1809. Solon J. and Elizabeth H. Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1939), p. 239.

sharp end— these are neither rugged rocky, or stoney in general, but have the same rich soil to their summits and are never too steep for the plough— they present a most endless & pleasing variety of hill, wood, & small vallies interlocking with each other—and the state of cultivation adds to the pleasure— because about as much of the wood has been cleared (perhaps at least one half) as to form the most pleasing proportion—& every hill has its mixture of wood & field—so that the variety is unceasing—the eye beginning with the lowest valley soon finds an ascent of hill rising on hill—& the whole forming a pleasing mixture of the most graceful slopes & lines.

The soil is also uniform. it consists of a deep, rich earth of a light loamy color and a fat or rather waxy texture, not unlike a marly soil to which indeed it approaches.— it is in itself calcareous, and has underneath a species of hard limestone almost every where diffused—freestone is universal—and the stratum of coal seems to extend thro the whole country as we perceive it on the side of almost every hill we descend—

Our road was extremely smooth, having seldom any stone but on the sides of the hills— it was however a continually descending & rising [road], & some of the hills quite steep—

The farms are generally in 300 acres—the houses mostly neat log with good improvements in Barns &c—the cultivation very good— in some places there are neat Stone houses—& one in particular of Col Mason on our left was large & elegant—the timber generally excellent oak and Walnut, very little Chesnut— the soil has been too strong for wheat until now, after 25 years cultivation— it has been sufficiently mellowed to produce it well— the Indian Corn was excellent—abt. 12 to 15 feet & bearing large ears— the only want of this Country seems water— the rivulets are not many and the water of the wells does not seem good— sometimes it is impregnated with limestone & at others of a coally or sulphureous nature— we rarely had it good—

There is an entire uniformity of character in every thing thro the whole ride from Connellsville to Union town⁹¹—12 miles which we were 4 hours in accomplishing for tho the roads were better the hills are numerous & steep & somehow, our horses, Servants & selves seem to have been so long used to crawl over the hills that we cannot get out of the habit—

We found Union town very different from our expectation, it was

⁹¹ Uniontown is on Redstone Creek and about twelve miles from Fort Necessity National Park.

founded about 30 years ago by one Beeson⁹² from near Wilmington a respectable friend who took up the tract and laid out the town which he called Beeson town— about 17 years ago however on a division of Westmoreland County & the formation of Fayette it was made the County town— [it] has a handsome Court house, Jail, and a more compact street of decent houses than in any place of the size I have seen in America— indeed there seems an unusual bustle & population about it— near the town are several mills⁹³ on two branches of the Redstone Creek

After baiting at an Inn kept by Doct^r McClure⁹⁴—we left it & came on thro a country of the same kind I have described tho rather more hilly, & not quite so well cultivated & settled as it seems a kind of ridge— our road also was worse—and it was not till after abt 4 hours & at the end of 12 miles we perceived ourselves descending among the most enchanting hills & heighths—to Brownsville & the Monongahela 13 miles— on coming into the town, the first person we saw was Sam^l Jackson⁹⁵ an old friend & formerly our agent here who conducted us to our Inn at Millers.⁹⁶—

As it was but four OClock we had time to survey the town, which stands on the brow of a lofty hill over hanging the river—tho we had already descended considerably from the general level of the country, I presume—Brownsville must be 300 feet above the river— on this hill is the upper part of the town which has a very steep descent to the Bank, which is 30 to 50 feet above the river & forms a narrow flat which regularly accompanies it, the river itself having almost the

⁹² Henry Beeson from near Wilmington, Delaware, founded Uniontown in 1788. The census taker in 1800 listed Henry Beeson as a resident of Union Township. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, III, 687; Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley* (Pittsburgh, 1955), p. 298; U. S. Census of 1800, Union Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, p. 616; James Veech, *The Monongahela of Old* (Pittsburgh, 1910), p. 133.

⁹³ Springhill Furnace founded in 1794 by Robert and Benjamin Jones, and Union Furnace, built in 1791 by Isaac Meason, were located on two branches of Redstone Creek. The reference may have been to these ironworks. Sharp and Thomas, *Old Stone Blast Furnaces*, pp. 51-52.

⁹⁴ Dr. Robert McClure was a resident of Union Township in 1790. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 111.

⁹⁵ In 1790 there was a Samuel Jackson residing in Washington Township a few miles north of Brownsville. In 1796 he joined with Jonathan Sharpless to open the first paper mill west of the mountains. Both men were from the Brandywine Valley. Samuel Jackson and Company built ships at Brownsville. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 112. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 344. Wiley, *Monongahela*, pp. 110, 205.

⁹⁶ This may have been the Robert Miller who served as host to Joseph Gibbons five years earlier. See Gibbons, Notes.

regularity of a vast canal, winding among hills & carrying this kind of Bank like a towing path along it which sometimes expands into a broad flat & at others is contracted by the points of projecting hills—nothing can exceed the beauty of this river, it is about 250 yards wide & tho it has a considerable current its face is perfectly smooth without any obstructions from rocks—the strata of the hills being such that from its source to its junction with the Ohio its bed is as even almost as art could make it—its sweeps among the hills are very graceful & it is like the Yohiogeny on a larger & more perfect scale—the hills also are equally beautiful & varied rising in noble masses, height above height—to a great elevation having their sides chequered with forest, cultivated land, houses &c to their summits: the hill opposite Browns-ville is very high, & beautifully wooded; with a fringe or skirt of meadow along the river— and after several gradations of height, a conical pointed hill rises over the rest which is cleared of all but a few trees & being the highest point in this country is every where seen like a land mark and commands a most extensive view, this is called Grips's Nob—



The river forms a sweep or turn at Brownsville so that both above & below the town at the distance of a few miles it winds round the hills— Brownsville being at the bottom of the curve—has therefore a beautiful sheet of the river in view on each side— on the left of the town, the hill immediately descends into a most beautiful little valley thro which Dunlaps Creek winds into the river— this little valley also, has its hill over hill its knolls & clumps of wood—& the Creek is lined with mills & houses on its eminences— these principally belong to my late worthy friend Reese Cadwallader & now to his children⁹⁷

Along the hills and bank of the river the coal is almost every where seen and various chambers are opened— it should seem as if the same strata which we saw at Connellsville universally pervaded this country in a horizontal direction or nearly so— be this however as it may— Coal is found every where in beds nearly of the same thickness—the Stratum almost perfectly horizontal, and by appearing on almost every hill & valley favors the idea of its being one & the same passing with little variation and nearly at the same depth thro the country—

The Coal Chambers are worked into the sides of the hills in a shaft as regular as a tunnell in which the carts go in & receive their loads direct as it is dug— no particular pains are taken to support the roof except by leaving pillars in proper spaces— the draining is easy as the coal lays so high a simple trench conducts all the water to the outside—the bottom being 30 feet above the river— in fact there is no pains necessary more than digging the coal & taking it away— for this reason the town is furnished at the cheap rate of 4 cents per bus delivered—the upper strata above the coal seem to be also the same as I have remarked at Connellsville.

Besides Coal I perceived both Millstones and excellent grind stones made from the free stone— the former is of a coarse hard kind brought from the mountains & the latter are brought down the river from Virginia⁹⁸—perhaps because the manufacture is begun or a grit of superior quality is found there— but there seems no reason against there [*sic*] being made here as there is a great variety of stone proper for the purpose—

There are no other minerals yet brought into use— the Iron as I have mentioned before is confined nearly altogether to the Laurel hill—

⁹⁷ Gerard T. Hopkins was a guest of Josiah Cadwallader in 1804 and later in the same year Joseph Gibbons saw Josiah's mother, Mrs. Rees Cadwallader, at the Beaver settlement. Rees started the Cadwallader mills at Brownsville. See the Hopkins and Gibbons Journals; "Plot of Land Grants at Brownsville in 1784," Eshleman Collection, Millersville State College Library.

⁹⁸ Now West Virginia.

The Monongahela being worn down to so regular a stream—the navigation is compleat for 70 miles upwards to Morgan town in the state of Virginia & again up an eastern branch called the Cheat river to the Laurel hill— this navigation is as I have mentioned periodical—that is after the rise of the river.

Brownsville united with Bridgeport contains ab 300 houses & 2000 inhabitants—the houses principally stores Taverns & tradesmens— there are many mills—for Corn—fulling—carding—oil &c— one curious mill is wrought by a long shaft from a wheel in the river far below the machinery—

There are 18 Stores at Brownsville— besides the supply of this immediate country, the river navigation & trade is a great object— at this moment the waters being low little was doing but building boats, which are kept in readiness & accordingly as the waters begin to rise, they are loaded & got ready to depart when sufficiently high— at this time the Banks exhibit an immense scene of bustle & activity; families from the eastern parts of the States arrive here, & purchase boats with which they embark to transport themselves down the Ohio & Mississippi, the rage for doing this was so great a few years ago that 2 to 300 families have embarked in one season, being generally poor they get here as well as they can & encamp on the bank of the river and furnish themselves with a boat— sometimes the scarcity of this article & the tardiness of the winter causes them to remain a considerable time & sometimes numerous families have passed the whole winter in their tents or huts to be ready for the earliest breaking up of the frost & rising of the waters— the boats they descend in are of all sorts & sizes some of them being little more than large square tubs with a shed over them— others embark in large Arks which we have already described & others in Keel boats which are a neat slender, kind of barge, well built & drawing but little water

The building of these boats is a great employment, some are now laying on the banks ready, & others building the whole bank indeed is a kind of navy yard for fitting them out— good Keel boats are sold at abt. \$3. per foot measuring the length of the Keel— these boats are also used altogether for navigating up the streams being pushed by poles instead of oars, or sails neither of which are much trusted to in this species of navigation— going down the stream, the boat once pushed into the current at a season when it is very swift and the water so high as to cover all obstacles— every thing depends on the care of the helmsmen who has [*sic*] only to avoid points of land, rocks, & the immense quantity of trees & rubbish which floats along with him down

the stream as there are no rapids of any consequence except far down the Ohio— for the purpose of guiding the master [uses] a book called the navigator⁹⁹ is published at Pittsburg containing compleat directions during the whole distance to New Orleans— accidents however some times happen against rocks & trees & some boats are lost; generally from want of care or inexperience—

Several large vessells such as Brigs & Ships have been built on the Monongahela & Ohio, which have been ballasted with coal or produce, & carried down to New Orleans where they have been brought round to Philadelphia & some of these are now employed in the European trade The river also in times of fullness exhibits another scene— I have said that its rise was from 10 to 15 feet, but this is in ordinary times & sufficient for the purposes of navigation, in some seasons however when the breaking up of the winter is sudden & attended with great thaws & rain, it rises 40. & 50 feet, covers its lower bank & sweeps away every thing with tremendous violence—their houses, Mills, cattle fences & timber, covers its face & carried along with it exhibits a wild scene of destruction— the little streams, which fall into the river also, are still more violent— we were shewn places to which the water had risen, which must be 60 feet above its present level—

The river rises considerably in the winter but chiefly in the Spring— it subsides early in the summer & in the Autumn the country is so extremely drained as actually to want water which is a scarce article throughout it— at this time the rivulets are nearly all dry tho the beds of the streams mark their fullness at other times— the Springs are every where scanty so that a full one is an object of consequence on a farm— the river Monongahela is also so low that opposite Brownsville it is forded not above 1 foot deep—

These high floods at one time, and excessive dryness at another arise, from the singular nature of the country, which being formed into steep hills throws off its waters immediately having no flat spaces in which it can rest, or be retained in reservoirs to be gradually diffused thro the country & issue out in continued streams— situations for mills are therefore scarce and valuable especially if they hold a supply during the summer— this has induced many to be erected in the river by wing dams thrown partially across & sometimes altogether—

⁹⁹ About 1801 there began to appear a publication to aid pilots on the midwestern rivers. It appeared in several editions until 1824. The edition examined: Zadok Cramer, *The Navigator: Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers* (Pittsburgh, 1814); John W. Harpster (ed.), *Pen Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1938), p. 258N; Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, pp. 245, 248, 257, 383, 400.

I have not mentioned Bridgeport having spoken under the head of Brownsville as of the two places united—but Bridgeport is a distinct little town separated only by the small valley of Dunlaps creek which I have described— there is a bridge thrown across this which in fact unites the two towns—the Bridge has been carried away with the floods tho it seems to stand at least 50 feet above the water at present— Bridgeport separately carries on the same business as Brownsville, to which however it can be considered as an appendage—

The steep hill at Brownsville forms almost two distinct towns—which may be called the upper & lower—the last seated on the first bank above the river—& the former on the high hill still above— the descent of the hill is extremely steep even for passage—but does not admit of houses being built on it—

Brownsville stands on the scite of the fort called Redstone or Fort Bird,¹⁰⁰ being built abt. 1753—& named after Col Bird of Pennsylvania, it had before been the residence of the Indians, whose bones are found in digging the cellars of the present town—together with numerous pieces of pottery pipes & other utensils, but the buildings have now swept away almost every other vestige either of the Indian, or of the English fortifications except some small mounds—the remains of the rampart of the Fort—

The trade of the town on the river consists chiefly of receiving, rafts of logs, wheat flour, whiskey, & a variety of other productions from the upper country which stop here and are exchanged for foreign goods— down the river, Brownsville sends many of the same articles with Iron—whiskey—Cyder—& a number of smaller articles intended to be sold at various places on the Ohio for the settlers there— this trade on the river however is of little consequence and will be less for more articles of produce as those settlements increase & produce the same articles— but the great trade of this country is its wheat, flour & other articles to New Orleans & this trade is as yet subject to great inconvenience—as a vast quantity of flour accumulates there in the Spring beyond the demand which from the heat of the climate soon becomes sour—and owing to the lowness of the streams it arrives afterwards in such scanty supplies that in the Autumn, flour is taken from Philad^a & [to] N Orleans with advantage by sea

It requires also an advance of capital for full six months to the Miller from the time he buys his wheat, for him to grind it, send it

¹⁰⁰ Properly Fort Burd, named for Colonel James Burd in 1759. Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, pp. 18, 81.

down to New Orleans, & get the remittances to Philadelphia— flour has frequently been sent from hence by land to Philad^a & Baltimore that is when the prices are \$10. & \$12—there as the waggonage costs \$4.— the price of wheat¹⁰¹ here at present is 75. cents which brings the barrell of flour to \$3.75.—

Iron is a much surer article it is universally wanted on the Ohio & Mississippi—the whole of which country now settled seems to have the ore either not at all or to have it in small quantities—

The cost of the carriage of goods from Philadelphia here is generally abt. \$5. to \$6. per Cwt. or \$100. to \$120. per ton— this is a prodigious tax upon all rough heavy articles, such as Iron, Salt, Sugar, &ca— of course it must operate in a manner immensely beneficial to the manufacture of all those rough & heavy articles— happily the country seems to have the means of furnishing its own supplies— of Iron I have already spoken— Sugar may be raised in sufficient quantities from the Sugar maple vast quantities of which are still growing, and the tree bears planting well— Maple Sugar is sold very generally in the Stores— Salt is procured from the natural Springs with which the country abounds tho they are generally weak— in the Genesee country¹⁰² however they are found very abundant & a vast trade in salt has now taken place from thence up lake Erie & down the Allegany river to Pittsburg—

The Redstone settlement was made chiefly by Quakers— indeed all the settlements almost are made by some one distinct sect or nation who follow each other without intermixing— thus you ask what such a settlement is formed of and you are answered of Quakers—Minists [Mennonites]—Dunkards—Dutch—Irish &ca— when trade opens a town & makes a settlement more particularly the object of resort, it is soon filled with persons of every description— thus Brownsville tho laid out by a Quaker¹⁰³ and now abounding in that Society has a large proportion of others—& the same may in a great degree be said of the whole Redstone settlement— this settlement was begun so early as 1765 & 1770. & was very extensive before the revolutionary war—after which it increased for many years— but within 10 or 12. years past the spirit of adventuring to the new counties down the Ohio where lands are still

¹⁰¹ The cost for the wheat to grind a 200-pound barrel of flour was \$3.75. This made five bushels of wheat to the barrel of flour.

¹⁰² The Genesee River valley in western New York State.

¹⁰³ Thomas Brown and Bazil Brown acquired the land where Brownsville was built from John McCulloch, Samuel McCulloch, Captain Michael Cresap, and William Colvin after 1763. Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, p. 81; "Plot of Land Grants at Brownsville."

cheap has become so general that a great number of the best families have removed & rather lessened the respectability of the Society here as well as retarded the progressive increase of property—

Our bill last night was	\$4.53
Bait at. Union town	1. 5
	<hr/>
	5.58

Sept^r. 26

We devoted this day to visit our tract of Land on the east side of the river called Gilpins Adventure a Tract containing 347 3/4 [acres] taken up or surveyed for my father in 1775 and patented in 1772.*

We took the road from Brownsville to Josiah Crawford's Ferry¹⁰⁴—our friend and Agent Adam Jacobs accompanying us— after about 5 miles of hilly road, precisely similiar to what I have described for this country generally, and abounding in fine Farms we came to Ruskey Run¹⁰⁵ a small stream which passes thro the tract & after mounting the brow of the hill came upon the land the part of it here we found extremely rich & level—the soil deep and abounding in fine timber, we rode on to the intersection of this road with that from Uniontown to the same Ferry¹⁰⁶—& came to a small settlement on a corner of the tract made by Isaac Fordyce—¹⁰⁷ a decent man— he has about 12. acres of cleared land & an ordinary log house & stable— he pays for the whole \$16. per annum rent—we then went up the Union town road about 1/4 mile and came to the farm or principal settlement—the houses of which we found seated very prettily on a hill about 200 yards from the road with a nice piece of meadow in front & fields on each side— it is in the tenure of Henry Harlan, a Chester

* The tract was warranted in then Bedford County on October 14, 1771, surveyed March 26, 1772, and patented September 23, 1772.

¹⁰⁴ From information supplied in this account the lands of the Gilpins were apparently situated in an area between the town of Republic and the Monongahela River. There were two Crawford ferries a short distance upstream from Brownsville. Gilpin later mentioned James Crawford as an early settler who "took up lands" for Gilpin's father. Josiah Crawford resided in Luzerne Township, the location of this ferry, in 1790 and was the head of a household which consisted of six males, three females, and two free Negroes. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 107; U. S. Census of 1800, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, pp. 558, 576; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792; see Note 113.

¹⁰⁵ Rusky Run was about five miles south of Brownsville and ran for about three-fourths mile through Gilpin's land. It was a branch of Dunlaps Creek.

¹⁰⁶ Josiah Crawford's Ferry mentioned in Note 104. There was a division of the road west of Uniontown in the headwaters area of Dunlaps Creek. Each branch of the road went to one of the two Crawford ferries over the Monongahela River. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

¹⁰⁷ Isaac Fordyce was a tenant on Gilpin's land in Luzerne Township, Fayette County. His name does not appear in the census for that township in 1800.

County Quaker & good farmer— he pays \$100 per Ann—but has laid out all the rent for 11 years in improvements— he has accordingly built an excellent barn—53 feet. by 24—and a very good farm house, well finished—of squared logs— the barn & house are underpinned with stone & stone chimneys—the house finished as neat as one in Philadelphia & better than was necessary— he has also the two old log houses formerly built now as Kitchen & outhouses besides a shop, milk house, Corn house, & several small houses which however are ordinary— he has about 80 acres of cleared land in tillage including his meadow which is all excellent land— there is plenty of coal some limestone & freestone in abundance on the place but no iron— he has a very good orchard and some peach trees his fences are in good order—his fields well manured, & altogether I found him a respectable tenant & the farm as neat as most in the country, his only fault seems to be his running us to too much expense in buildings which I hope however will now soon be at an end—

from the highest part of the fields above the house we have a fine view over the country, extending to the hills on the river which is about 1 1/2 mile on a straight line,¹⁰⁸ & tis said it may be seen in winter when the leaves are off the trees—

I find from Harlan¹⁰⁹ as well as our agent that tho this farm is distant 5 miles from Brownsville that it is in an excellent neighbourhood as to industrious good farmers—tho rather gloomy, as a residence—it is however reckoned one of the finest tracts of land in all the Redstone settlement, all the land being good, & very little of it broken— it would bring \$16. per acre— it admits of much improvement, but as I consider timber is becoming very valuable in this settlement our agents choose to limit the tenant to clear no more ground, the tenants then cannot injure it & woodland will probably soon be higher than cleared—

We got a nice repast or dinner, of Bread & Butter milk, cheese &c—& found Harlans wife a neat smart housewife— after dinner, I sent the carriage round by the road & proceeded on horseback along Ruskey Run, which passes abt 3 4 mile thro the tract— this is all in wood, but is an excellent bottom tho narrow— it will however afford 30 to 40 acres of fine meadow— I could not ascertain whether there is fall enough in the run for a Mill which would much add to the value of

¹⁰⁸ From the information given as to the location of Gilpin's Adventure, one and one-half miles is a considerable underestimate of the distance to the opposite side of the Monongahela. Perhaps Gilpin was not taking into consideration the long bend to the west that the river makes just above his land.

¹⁰⁹ Henry Harlan, Gilpin's tenant from Chester County, was living in Luzerne Township as early as 1790. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 108.

the tract as it seems a lively little stream for this country, & has a good deal of water in it now they are all low— I rather think however there is not a millseat on it—

After settling business with Harlan which chiefly consisted in talking matters over and settling his expenditures on the place we came home— near sunset we reached Brownsville where we took a late dinner or rather early supper at our friend—A Jacobs—

As Mary thinks that neither Gilpins Adventure or Ruskey Run are good names she calls this place Monallan which is the name of the township.

Sept^r. 27. We devoted to visit our land on the west side of the river, and as this was said to be 7 miles distant we went off more early—

We rode up the Bank of the river, which is a most beautiful road like the terrace or towing path of a vast canal—being abt. 50 feet above the river—the bank lined with the largest trees hanging beautifully over it— on our left the plain or bank extends all along abt. 1/4 mile in depth when the hills rise steep & lofty from it—the whole of the plain or bank being in cultivation as it is very rich— the hill[s] are intermingled with cultivation & wood— both the plain & the hill [are] interspersed with farm houses, cottages &ca on the right at the foot of the bank the river which is of unruffled smoothness & beauty keeps an even width of abt 400 yards being wider than at Brownsville —the western bank rising precisely like our own—first into a terrace & then into lofty hills mixed with forest & cultivation—

At abt 3 miles from Brownsville we crossed the river,¹¹⁰ which is 378 feet measured distance we crossed in a Scow pushed by poles the river about 4 feet deep but the bottom stoney & uneven— from hence we had a very fine road—thro rich settlements to Westland Meeting house,¹¹¹— we are now in Washington County—the lands here precisely the same, as on the east side of the river, tho this side was more level— our road however was rather on the top of the highest ridge of the hills which overhang it— this settlement was almost entirely

¹¹⁰ This crossing would be about the right distance from Brownsville for a point on the great bend of the river south of that town where a Crawford Ferry was located. Gilpin listed their land west of the Monongahela River as two miles down-stream from Fredericktown. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792; Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike: A History of the National Road* (Uniontown, Pa., 1894), p. 32.

¹¹¹ Westland Meetinghouse was a Quaker place of worship on a high hill overlooking the Monongahela River near Fredericktown. It was established about 1776 as the first place for worship by the Quakers west of the Allegheny Mountains. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 279.

made by respectable Quakers from the eastern counties of Pennsylvania & is now almost wholly composed of their descendants—tho I am sorry to find that many of the most respectable families have moved down the Ohio, and others are the descendants only, of those whom I formerly knew on their coming to the meeting at Philadelphia—most of those I enquired for, were either gone, or dead, & the few I saw, were rather of the common hard laboring kind than such as I had known—Westland Meeting house is a very large one, originally of logs, but with a stone addition—it stands close on one of the corners of our land but abt 1 1/2 miles from our farm houses—this distance as the road goes is a tremendous descent of the river hill, winding down in a zig zag direction generally with a precipice on the lower side & a high bank on the other: except its steepness however it is a good road being the public one to Frederickton¹¹² a neat little new village abt 2 miles above our land on the river side from the brow of the hill before we descended, we had one of the richest prospects I ever saw— it extended a great distance over the east side of the river, among the rest we could see the wood on our farm we visited yesterday— I conjecture this hill is abt. 500 feet above the river which runs close under our feet— one beautiful valley a few miles down it struck us with peculiar beauty— the plain or bank of the river there spreads out of considerable width & affords room for an extensive farm, in beautiful cultivation with the river running on one side & the whole entirely surrounded by lofty & wooded hills— I was happy to find that this was the spot settled by James Crawford¹¹³—one of the first persons who ventured into this country when a wilderness, & who took up the lands for my father— he being dead it now belongs to his son—

We soon reached the bank or plain on the river, & there found the road leading thro our land, for upwards of half a mile, thro a grove of very large Trees—precisely in the manner I have described before—part of the plain here is in cultivation by our tenant—but in most places the distance from the foot of the hill to the river, is too small to admit inclosing it on both sides the road— the river here has for the first time we have seen a fall or ripple in its bed perhaps of 2 or []

¹¹² Fredericktown is a village on the west bank of the Monongahela River about ten miles upstream from Brownsville. It was the site of one of the Crawford ferries.

¹¹³ John Steele in a letter written on April 2, 1768, mentions James Crawford as a landowner "near Redstone." He lived in Luzerne Township, site of Gilpin's land, in 1790. Steele letter quoted in Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, pp. 90-93; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 107. Also see Notes 104, 106, and 110.

feet in some distance which it is said is one of the best situations in the country for a river mill—these kind of mills being adopted from necessity thro the failure of the smaller stream in summer— they are formed either by dambs thrown wholly across, or wing walls partially across the river— they are of use in summer when all other streams fail, & then the river is not to be navigated— but when the river is full these mills are then useless—& those on the streams come into use—

The Land we hold originally consisted of two adjoining tracts taken up or surveyed in 1775. & patented in 1787 they are called Gilpins Mill Seat—and Addition to Gilpins Mill Seat—in all ab^t. 700 Acres of which 147. has been since sold leaving ab^t. 550. or perhaps 600 acres strict measure— they have a front of about 200 perches on the river and run from thence westward up the hill & over its summit for ab^t. 300 perches when they widen—

The united tract is bounded on the two sides (the northern & southern) by 2 of those deep rivulets which descending from the top of the hills in excessively steep vallies fall into the river—at each end of the tract— the rivulet at [the] north end where we enter the land is called Barneys run—& on the bank where it enters the river is a small house and Saw Mill belonging to George Smith¹¹⁴ being on the piece of 147. acres which we sold to his father Abraham Smith¹¹⁵ in 1790.— from hence along the bank to the southern extremity is 200 perches where is Fish pot run a much more considerable stream—& reckoned one of the best in the country both streams however were now destitute of water

Barneys run forms a deep glen almost immediately from the river, the sides being little more than tremendous cliffs of free stone, coal, & lime stone— it is covered with wood & as gloomy & wild as possible— some distance up the run and on our tract is a Cavern, one of the greatest curiosities of this country— it is called the Panthers Den & is similar to Pooles hole in Derbyshire—

We were deterred by many circumstances from entering this place— I had not time without neglecting all objects of business— we were all extremely warm, & I feared the effect of going into so cold & damp a

¹¹⁴ George Smith was listed as landowner in Tyrone Township of Westmoreland County, now Fayette County, in 1773. It may not have been the same man. But there was a George Smith living in Luzerne Township in 1790. He had a household of six males and six females. Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, p. 203; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 108.

¹¹⁵ Abraham Smith, father of George, bought land from the Gilpins in 1790, according to Gilpin; but he does not appear in the census report for this county taken in that year nor in the census of 1800.

place at this critical season of the year— we were wholly unprepared with ropes straw, candles or in fact any thing else, & in so very rugged a place, I did not wish to risque—the Copper heads a species of snake very abundant among these Craggs & if possible more fatal than the Rattlesnake—I shall however give an account of the Cave which has been published—

“About a mile below Frederickstown is a curious cave called the Panthers Den it enters the hill about half way from its base by a small fracture or rent in the rock— after going a few yards thro a narrow & descending passage, you enter a wide but low room in which you can walk nearly upright— to the roof of this room we found bats hanging in a stupid kind of sleep— the next room we got into by clambering up another fracture in the rock— this room we had to roll ourselves through and entered a third by a narrow & descending passage occasioned by another rent in the rock— this room was extensive & high enough to walk in upright and was nicely divided by a partition of petrifications formed by the drippings of the water from the roof— the formation of the petrifications had a singular appearance something similar in shape to two haystacks with their conical points put one on the other—

[“]We had gone crouching, pushing, & rolling ourselves thro this fractured hill about 40 yards— feeling tired, we returned with candles & cord to the mouth in safety— The first room had sufficient marks of animal bones in it to entitle it to the name it bears.” I must remark, that tho I had heard of, & ascertained the place of Panthers Dens, I had not seen the above relation till since I returned from it— of course we had not the same interest to see it when there as we might now have¹¹⁶— as for Panthers—which are the American Tyger, they are long since gone from this neighbourhood—

As we wished to explore the lower part of the land which lays on the river before we ascended the hill to the farm; we went to Fish pot run— the valley at the entrance of this is of considerable width— tho the sides are as steep & precipitous as Barneys run— the vale at its entrance is perhaps 100 yards wide— The bottom is still in timber tho not beset with underwood so that the walking is good.— about 200 yards up the vale is a Saw Mill on the run—but not at work for want of water— we continued up the valley, which for 1/4 of a mile expands & contracts, so as to leave in many places sufficient space

¹¹⁶ The quotation and the comment about interest would indicate that some rewriting of rough notes was made after Gilpin returned home.

for some meadow, but for the wildness & ravages of the stream— here we found the ruins of a hermitage— one Frederick Ramm¹¹⁷—a German enthusiast & disordered in his intellects, tho in many respects sensible undertook in the wildest solitude of this glen to build himself a small log house—to clear a little garden—& plant some peach trees— here he lived alone his bed formed out of a hollowed Log & filled with shavings— he had singular notions, particularly with respect to colors— he avoided black & blue in every way, & would not speak to persons who wore them— but red & green were great favorites— so strong was his aversion to black that he would not write with ink—but used a red vegetable juice similar to red ink— when my brother was here in 1800— Frederick wrote him a letter in his red ink soliciting license to remain here, which my brother was about to prevent as he frequented West-land Meeting & insisted on preaching there— he remained however as I understand till a year or two past when he fell in love with a young woman from Chester County who was here on a visit— this induced him to leave his hermitage, & tis said he is now dead— the hermitage has had no successor so that of all Fredericks labors little remains but a few peach trees & the ruins of his house— a few hundred yards above the hermitage—the two hills approach so near each other that nothing is left between them but the small course of the rivulet, which when the water is full prevents all further access at a short distance above the hills expand again—

We returned—along the bank of the river to where the road winds up the steep side of the hill to the farm— it is extremely steep & perhaps 200 feet high—but we got the carriage up it empty, and walked ourselves

On the top of the hill the land is level from the high banks of both the runs or extremities. this level continues—for a considerable distance back, when the land rises again in gentle hills— by this position a large body of fine rich farming land of abt. 300 acres lies together, and is considered as some of the best land in the country— divided from this body by another glen is abt. 100. acres more, so that of this tract there is from 350 to 400 acres of prime land, & from 150 to 200. acres consisting altogether of the river bottom, glens & broken land which tho nearly useless for cultivation will always afford a space of excellent timber—

Of the prime land there is abt. 80 acres cleared— the houses stand

¹¹⁷ The account given here of the German hermit is not a part of Veech's account, nor does Ramm appear in Veech's list of inhabitants. These, however, were of an earlier date. Neither was Ramm found by the census taker in 1790.

on the level in the center of the fields & near a good spring— the situation is well chosen as a farm & commands a fine prospect— the buildings are a good log barn—two log houses united together making 3 good rooms, & some outhouses, but on the whole the buildings are by no means so good as those on the other farm—

At some distance there are two other clearings or settlements one on the north part—contg. [containing] abt. 12 acres cleared, with a bad log house & stable— the other on the South side of Fishpot run contain[ing] abt. 7 acres with a log house only—

We found a good tenant on this place—one John Haycock¹¹⁸ who with his wife and children form a very neat & industrious family from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia— his fences &c are all in good order—& the house clean— we arrived near their hour of dining, but got as good a dinner as we could have wished— & tho they have no meadow on the tract we saw several shelves of nice cheese which is produced from clover on the upland— he makes 8 or 900 lbs in this way— the house also was stocked with yarn of all kinds for homespun & altogether exhibited a nice scene of economy—

After dinner we rode over the bounds with some of the neighbours —& took a general view of the tract which is all in woodland except the parts I have mentioned— Haycock pays \$100. per Annum, & has all the tract, the Saw Mill included, being allowed to use the timber actually dead & fallen, after providing for the uses of the place—

Our agent, Adam Jacobs had come with us & we had only to talk over business with Haycock— indeed I found our agents had placed these lands in such good hands, and on such good terms as to leave me very little to do—the chief points are repairs & improvements which seem always wanting & absorb nearly all the rents—

We left our Tenants towards evening both of us I believe well pleased with each other— indeed I find our visit especially Mary & Henry a wonderful thing & am sure it will long be talked of, that an English lady has ventured over these wild mountains to see her tenants—

We descended the hill to the river bank—then mounted again the tremendous hill to Westland Meeting house & pursued our excellent road—to the ferry, recrossed the river & reached by the road along its banks our Inn at Brownsville—

¹¹⁸ John Haycock had come from Philadelphia to take up residence on Gilpin's Washington County land. He was not there as early as 1790, according to the census.

Sept^r. 28—The rides of yesterday had fatigued us much especially as the weather was extremely warm— we had also now been—15 days with our horses mostly engaged among rough roads & steep hills— we resolved therefore to make this a day of rest— I also wished to pass some time among several persons here who were disposed to be attentive to us—& finally to make the necessary arrangements with our agents—they had already acted so well, & have pursued my brothers & my own wishes so much that I had little more [than] to confirm what they had done & give them some directions for their future conduct—

We devoted the morning to writing, looking [over] our papers settling accts &c— at 3. OClock— (a fashionable hour for this place) we went to dine with Isaac Rogers Esq^r.¹¹⁹ one of the magistrates of this county, who is joint agent for us with M^r Jacobs—but who was too much indisposed to accompany us to the farms—

In the afternoon we went to Josiah Cadwallader who owns the Mills in the little valley of Dunlaps Creek—adjoining Brownsville— we then finished the day by Tea at M^r Jacobs & returned to our Inn, intending to depart very early tomorrow—

Our Tavern bill at Brownsville for 4 days compleat
was

\$20.82

¹¹⁹ Isaac Rogers, Esqr., was a resident of Luzerne Township, Fayette County, in 1800. Captain David Rogers, of Brownsville commanded Virginia troops in the West during the Revolution. U. S. Census of 1800, Luzerne Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, p. 563; Wiley, *Monongahela*, p. 71.

PART THREE

Pittsburgh Business Prospects

September 29 to September 30

Sept^r. 29th—

We rose & breakfasted very early & sent our carriage down to the river side walking ourselves— the water which is here 10. 15. & sometimes 30 feet deep is now so shallow that a ferry boat could not pass, & we were obliged to ford it— M^r Jacobs sent a person on horseback to pilot us, & we safely crossed the stream in no part deeper than 18 in^{es}—

We were again in Washington County, & soon mounted the river hills & came on to Redds¹²⁰ an Inn kept by a German on Pigeon Creek¹²¹— the road being a cross one, was indifferent, & several of the hills very steep.— the soil & country also appear more indifferent tho of the same general character as the rest of the Redstone count[r]y—

Our friend Jacobs having reced Letters for us from Philad^a.—shortly after our leaving Brownsville had dispatched a messenger after us who overtook us at Redds. and gave us the letters; it also afforded us an opportunity of writing home as no post had left Brownsville during our stay.—

We pursued our road—& soon found it worse than ever— after descending some very steep hills we came to the valley of Mingo Creek¹²² which was generally a deep swamp wholly in wood; the road impassable in winter, & very difficult to find—the greater part of it being actually in the bed of the creek full of stones and often interrupted by ridges of free stone across it.— in the midst of this solitude

¹²⁰ Gilpin was traveling on the road from Brownsville to Pittsburgh on the west side of the Monongahela River. It is now designated as Pennsylvania Route 88.

¹²¹ Pigeon Creek is a small stream flowing into the Monongahela River in Washington County. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

¹²² Mingo Creek is another small branch of the Monongahela River between West Brownsville and Pittsburgh.

we found the remains of a tabernacle or camp meeting¹²³ of the methodists which had recently broken up— it consisted of a wooden box for a Pulpit very much like a watchmans box near London—& a great number of benches to arrange around for the congregation— this had lately been one of those wild scenes of fanaticism which this sect are exercising thro a great part of the United States, these Camp meetings being very frequent, when some thousands leave their homes in waggons, carts &ca from all parts of the country & encamp in some wild solitude with food and necessaries, where all sorts & sexes live for many days together, continually preaching, feasting, exhorting & exercising a wild fanaticism, which under the name of Christianity seems most likely to subvert it, as these people being chiefly of the most ignorant kind, adopt every thing which their heated imaginations suggests— among other things in order to operate on the ignorant, they are now circulating a letter said to be written by Jesus Christ himself to some of their leaders approving their tenets and exhorting all to follow it under assurances, that those who believe in that letter shall be perfectly secured from all harm, whether by lightening, tempests blight of corn, sickness, child bed, bite of snakes or any other disaster, enumerating those most common among these rude people.

Certainly nothing of natural situation can contribute more to enthusiasm than the wildness, the gloom, & solitude of Mingo creek. it reminds one of the wilderness which Salvator Rosa has given us in his preaching of St John, & if necessary Salvator might have improved the wildness of his landscape by seeing this spot—

Luckily Mingo Valley did not last above 4 or 5 miles, when we emerged again into a tolerably well settled country & at the evening after 25 miles travel for the day we reached—the Inn we had designed kept by Findley¹²⁴— here we found a great farmer having several farms

¹²³ The Mingo Creek Meetinghouse was the place of assembly in July, 1794, of a group of the men opposing the whiskey tax. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 9-10.

¹²⁴ The Findlay (Findley or Finley) Family had produced a number of leaders in southwestern Pennsylvania including Congressman William Findlay, Reverend Mr. James Findlay, and Judge James Finley, the celebrated bridge builder. However, the present village of Finleyville is located on the road from Brownsville to Pittsburgh, on which Gilpin was traveling, at about the distance he notes from Brownsville. It is probable that his host was Alexander Finley or Robert Finley. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, pp. 248, 257; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 6, 14, 175, 555, 596, 608, 611-12, 626; Shank, *Historic Bridges*, pp. 5-7; William Findley, *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Year 1794* (Philadelphia, 1796).

in this country and a very decent kind of man— appearances were in favor of its being a good Inn as we were shewn into a large room with a good bed in it, & had a decent supper.— we soon found however, that this was the family eating, & bed room and were obliged to give way to a host of people to have their supper—consisting of the Landlord his wife, children, workmen, a number of travellers, waggoners and Minists [Mennonites] or Dunkards¹²⁵ a species of Moravians with long beards— we found also that we must lodge in another room upstairs not above 10 feet square with a bed made up of blanketts for Henry & our own a very small one which stunk intolerably— our nights rest therefore was a very indifferent one

This country is still of the same general character as the Redstone settlement tho with a greater mixture of poor land and not to [be] compare[d] to it in settlement or improvement which has arisen from its being so much longer overrun by the Indians as the settlements were not secure till abt. 20 years past.— Findley tells me that land is worth \$10. to \$12. per acre.

Sept^r. 30. We took breakfast at our Inn, this not being a very hurried morning, and came away: abt. 5 miles from Findleys we met Mr Tilghman¹²⁶ the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania whom we expected to meet at Pittsburgh, but as he is on the Circuit he had finished the Pittsburgh court before either of us expected, & was now going the way we had come to Brownsville & Union town to hold at the latter the Court for Washington Co. on monday— it was a new road to him so that we were able to direct him, & in return he gave us an order for his room & bed at Pittsburgh by which we were sure of getting a good one

Abt 6 miles from Finleys we came on the top of the hills which overhang the Monongahela opposite Pittsburgh & have a grand & stupendous view of the whole area of the town, the plain on which it stands, & both the rivers, like a map at our feet with a vast expanse of country around— the descent of this hill to the river is here almost

¹²⁵ Gilpin apparently was not very familiar with the German religious groups of Pennsylvania. The Dunkards, or Dunkers, were German Baptist Brethren and now are the Church of the Brethren. They were not Moravians. The inhabitants along Dunkards Creek were attacked by Indians in 1792. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 286, 302-303, 641; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 621; Wiley, *Monongahela*, p. 16.

¹²⁶ William Tilghman was the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 281, 331; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 97.

a precipice and our road winding as it was for more than a mile was as steep and rough as possible— this hill is called Coal hill—being said to be full of Coal—that is the stratum is very thick of the finest coal open to the side of bank so as to be dug with the same facility we have described at several places—& the quantity seems to be inexhaustible—

We descended to the Ferry house— the Monongahela here is 600 yards wide but has a sand bank in the middle which is now quite dry, and in many seasons has been so long dry that Buckwheat has been sown on it—tho the floods have carried it away before it was quite ripe— from our side of this bank abt 20 yards we forded, there not being water for a boat— we then crossed the land and were ferried over the other branch abt 200 yards, & 8 or 10 feet deep tho a short distance below the whole river may be forded— after crossing the Ferry we ascended the Bank—abt 50 [feet] high, & went to Spencers tavern¹²⁷ which is seated on the bank— we here claimed the Judges room & bed & obtained it so that we found ourselves very comfortable—

As this is Saturday & tomorrow no day for observation; and as we wished to get forward (having no business here)¹²⁸ we were obliged to be active— I went to find out my friend James Ross Esq^r.¹²⁹ the most eminent lawyer in the western part of this State, late Senator in Congress & the intended Governor of this state— he had promised Mary & myself if we came here to go to Niagara with us— I found him at Court engaged as Council in a long landed trial, & scared him with claiming his promise— the court adjou[r]ni[ng], he came to dine with us, & matters were soon settled— unfortunately for us this cause is likely to last till late to night & tommorrow [*sic*] he is obliged to travel

¹²⁷ Robert Spencer resided in 1815 on Water Street, between Market and Wood, in Pittsburgh. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 78.

¹²⁸ Much of the remainder of this account is a history of western Pennsylvania and an analysis of the business and trade prospects of Pittsburgh as the key to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. It is possible that the Gilpin family was considering an expansion of its business interests in the West.

¹²⁹ James Ross was United States senator for twelve years, a member of the State constitutional convention of 1790 and a member of the committee which wrote the final draft of that document. Clement A. Buckley also called upon him in Pittsburgh. Gilpin's prediction that he would become governor did not prove correct although he was a candidate in three elections; Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, p. 141; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (New York, 1966), IV, 83; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 73; Clement A. Buckley Diary, privately owned; Thomas Cushing (ed.), *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1889), I, 527, 535-36, 667, 724; II, 173-74.

with Judge Yeates¹³⁰ 30 miles to open the Sessions for Westmoreland on monday.

Finding we could not have his company I went to Mr J Barkers,¹³¹ an old friend of mine who had been at our house in Philad^a.— We there found Gen^l Neville¹³² an old warrior of this country— Mr Barker accompanied us over all the town, & its curiosities, which consumed the whole afternoon, the sun being extremely hot— we visited Fort Du Quesne—Fort Pitt—the present, Fort—the Porter brewery¹³³—Steam mill—Glass houses & in fact a variety of objects comprizing all that is interesting in the town— we found our friend Gen^l Wilkins¹³⁴ absent gone to Philad^a—Gen^l OHaras¹³⁵ family in grief for the recent loss of a son in the army—Mr Ross & Mr Wood,¹³⁶ at court— however we found Judge Roberts,¹³⁷ President of the Court of Common pleas of this district and Doc^r. Stevenson¹³⁸ an eminent Physician here to form a

¹³⁰ Judge Jasper Yeates was another member of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on circuit. He was a resident of Lancaster. Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Lancaster County Historical Society.

¹³¹ "Joseph Barker, gentleman," lived on Liberty Street between Diamond Alley and Fourth Avenue. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 9.

¹³² General Presley Neville came to Fort Pitt in 1780. General Knox appointed him quartermaster general at Pittsburgh, and he served in various government offices until after the War of 1812. He had financial reverses and returned to Montours Island where he died in 1826. Cushing, *History of Allegheny County*, I, 40-41, 136; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 10, 134; VI (1877), 48, 683, 687, 728, 734, 740, 742, 756, 814.

¹³³ In 1815 there were three large breweries and a small one in Pittsburgh. They produced about 10,000 barrels of beer, ale, and porter per year. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 140.

¹³⁴ General William Wilkins was a lawyer and founder of the town of Etna. He served as Judge of the United States District Court in Pittsburgh, was a member of the United States Senate, minister to Russia, and secretary of war. In 1832 the Pennsylvania electors cast their entire vote for General Wilkins for vice-president of the United States. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 82; Cushing, *History of Allegheny County*, I, 260-61, 273, 294, 568, 667; II, 119, 181.

¹³⁵ General James O'Hara was the pioneer glass manufacturer in the Pittsburgh area. He built the first glasshouse in partnership with Major Isaac Craig and began operation in 1795. O'Hara fought with General Wayne in 1794 and lived for a time in Detroit as quartermaster for the Western Territory. He suffered financial distress after the War of 1812 and died in Pittsburgh in 1819. *Ibid.*, I, 533-36; Wiley, *Monongahela*, p. 119; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *The Red Races of America* (New York, 1847), p. 11; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 78.

¹³⁶ John Woods, Esq., was a lawyer and member of Congress. His office was on Penn Avenue. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 89; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 17; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 76. Cushing, *History of Allegheny County*, I, 250, 266, 724.

¹³⁷ Samuel Roberts was president of the Court of Common Pleas, 1803-1820. *Ibid.*, I, 252-53; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 98.

¹³⁸ Dr. George Stephenson, physician, resided on Penn Avenue in Pittsburgh. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 79.

party at tea at Mr. Barkers.— we also found Doc^r. Syebart¹³⁹ of Philad^a. chemical & mineralogical Professor there who with Mr Mifflin¹⁴⁰ & Mr Lyman¹⁴¹ were making a tour on horseback thro the country.— we spent the evening here

The situation of Pittsburg is certainly one of the most interesting in the United States & promises a city of great future importance, from the trade it must command & the manufactures it is formed to furnish. this situation is on a point of land running in a triangular direction from high hills to a point, having on the north the Alleganey river 400 yards wide—on the south the Monongahela 600 yards—& the Ohio commencing by an union of those two rivers at the extremity of the point:— the plain is of a flat surface from 30 to 40 feet above the present level of the rivers, being composed of a light rich sandy earth evidently an alluvial deposit from the neighbouring hills—with steep banks— the base or third side of the triangle is formed of hills stretching across from river to river equally high with those on the opposite banks, so that on all sides Pittsburgh is surrounded by hills—the situation may be better understood by the following sketch—

¹³⁹ Dr. Adam Seybert, of Philadelphia, was a physician, chemist, and one of the greatest mineralogists of the early nineteenth century. He may have been the earliest expert in America in the science of mineral analysis. He served four terms in the United States House of Representatives, 1809-1815 and 1817-1819. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 2; Edward Farber, *Great Chemists* (New York, 1961), p. 407; Ralph H. Brown, *Mirror for Americans, Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard* (New York, 1968), p. 279.

¹⁴⁰ John Mifflin was a manager of the Philadelphia Assembly in 1807. John Frederick Lewis, *The History of an Old Philadelphia Land Title* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 121.

¹⁴¹ Lyman is a name frequently encountered in American history and in science. The editor was unable to identify a particular one intended by this reference. He may or may not have been from Philadelphia, the residence of his fellows on this journey to Pittsburgh.

- The situation nicely he better understood
by the following sketch -

The sketch is a hand-drawn map. At the top, a compass rose indicates North. A dashed line representing the 'Allegany river' flows from the top right towards the bottom left. To the right of the river, there are several hills: 'High hills' (indicated by a dashed outline), 'Granite hills' (indicated by a dashed outline), and 'The coal hills' (indicated by a dashed outline). To the left of the river, there are 'High hills' (indicated by a dashed outline) and 'Ohio' (indicated by a dashed line). The map is labeled with 'Allegany river', 'High hills', 'Granite hills', 'Ohio', and 'The coal hills'.

- our great pen. I will say to P.
Penalty.

From the earliest period the situation of Pittsburgh attracted the attention of the Indians both from its beauty and convenience, and from its important position between the northern & southern countries, as even with their rude navigation it was the great center of their expeditions for war, hunting, and communication from the lakes of Canada, to the vast countries bordering on the bay of Mexico and from the shores of the Delaware to the Ohio & Mississippi after the discovery and settlement of the Atlantic provinces by the French & English its importance became obvious to them, particularly to the former, as it was sooner discovered & far more accessible from those who penetrated the lakes of Canada than to the English who could approach it only in distant journeys by land— the French having settled Canada on the north and New Orleans near the mouth of the Mississippi embraced the whole intervening country in their vast province of Louisiana on both sides the Mississippi and Ohio, to the neighbourhood of the Lakes; so that in their two important settlements of Canada on the north & Louisiana on the south they grasped at the whole western world regardless of the English colonists whom they wished to confine to the narrow district between the Alleganey mountain and the ocean—

With this view the French discovered and fortified almost every important pass, from Quebec to New Orleans; and erected the Forts of Frontenac, Oswego, Niagara—Detroit and a variety of others along the whole line of the lakes of the western & southern provinces, & on the rivers Ohio & Mississippi, so as completely to environ the British settlements from the mouth of the S Lawrence to that of the bay of Mexico; with these fortresses, the garrisons they maintained in them, and the immense ascendancy, they obtained over the Indian tribes, they would have curbed effectually all attempts of the English provinces to extend themselves westward altho the discovery of these provinces was made by the English and the grants of most of the provinces were given long before the Mississippi itself was discovered and those grants extended to the Pacific ocean—

The hostility between the French and English colonists in North America began with their respective settlements, and was carried on almost without intermission; it became more active during the wars in Europe, but suffered little intermission even when peace existed between the two nations at home; their immense influence and command over the Indian tribes enabled the French to continue hostilities by supporting those tribes even when they were compelled to act with secrecy, but even this was little resorted to for the progress of the

English settlements upon countries which the French claimed by boundaries nearly undefined gave pretenses to their officers to exercise power and hostility without cessation under the pretext of defending the dominions of their monarch

For a long period after the settlement of the respective colonies, the wars between the colonists were confined chiefly to the borders of New England New York and Canada, as the settlements there approached the nearest, and interfered the most with each other—the parties also were more able to collect their respective forces and act with more effect against each other, but towards the middle of the last century, the settlements of Pennsylvania Virginia and Carolina, extending westward, the contest became general from Canada to the most southern of the British colonies.

In this contest of the middle states Virginia took the lead, partly from the more peaceable system which the government of Pennsylvania pursued, and partly because the Virginia settlements extended themselves more early and more rapidly and soon became formidable to the French when the settlers on the Potomac approached the vicinity of the Ohio—

As a curb to these settlements of the English in the middle provinces, and as an important chain in their communication from Canada to Louisiana—the confluence of the Monongahela & Alleganey rivers was soon perceived to be an important position from whence by the assistance of the Indians the French were enabled continually to annoy and retard the Virginia & Pennsylvania settlements by murdering and dispersing those who attempted to form them, and maintaining a constant & bloody warfare.

In the early stages of this contest the colonists endeavored to maintain it themselves; particularly the Virginians; by degrees however they became supported with troops & other assistance from England, and the various forts such as Loudon, Ligonier, Bedford, Cumberland¹⁴² with numerous others were erected in order to cover settlements made around them, it being necessary to protect the inhabitants as they proceeded by garrisons established in advance of them.— the dates of these fortresses therefore mark the progress of improvement in the country.

The Virginians soon became sensible of the great importance of the port at the confluence of the Monongahela & Alleganey rivers as

¹⁴² Gilpin had passed the locations of Fort Loudon and Fort Bedford on his way west. Fort Ligonier is on U. S. 30 about fifty miles east of Pittsburgh. Fort Cumberland was at Cumberland in western Maryland.

the support of all those depredations which were committed for a great distance around it— at that time too the boundary between Virginia & Pennsylvania not being accurately determined it was not known whether the grant of Virginia did not encircle it.— the force of Virginia therefore was directed to this object and a number of battles & skirmishes were fought between the head waters of the Patomac & the Monongahela & Ohio, in these colonial wars General Washington took an early part and established his military reputation altho in his first campaign as a commander (being then a colonel of the Virginia forces,) he was surrounded and captured after a brave & obstinate resistance by a superior force of French & Indians at a place called the Little Meadows in the year 1753.¹⁴³—

The object of this expedition had been to take possession of the point at the confluence of the Ohio & Alleganey; but the French had preoccupied it and erected Fort du Quesne in honor of the Minister of that name¹⁴⁴ & soon converted it into an important station which they retained until its reduction by the British forces.

The attempts becoming more & more formidable and supported by their Government at home at length roused the attention of the British Government & occasioned the war which commenced in 1755—in which a large regular force was landed from England at Alexandria & being joined by a considerable body of colonial troops marched by way of Fort Cumberland (then so named & the most advanced colonial post) towards Fort Du Quesne under General Braddock.— this army had advanced from the Patomack on the 8th of July to Turtle Creek within 7 miles of the Fort, which they expected to capture next day, but they were unfortunately surprised by the French & Indians who totally defeated them— Gen^l Washington who acted as aid de camp having the honor of saving the remains of the army which was marched back to Philadelphia & left the frontiers wholly unprotected— Gen^l Braddock was carried off wounded to a camp about 7 miles SE of Union town¹⁴⁵ on the Laurel ridge called Dunbars camp— here he died and was buried near the road which at length passed over & exposed his bones, so that a few gentlemen of Union town lately collected & gave them for

¹⁴³ The correct date was July 4, 1754, when Fort Necessity surrendered. It was at Great Meadows not Little Meadows, but curiously Clement A. Buckley made the same error in his 1818 *Diary*.

¹⁴⁴ Marquis de Duquesne. Thomas D. Clark, *Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement* (New York, 1959), p. 44.

¹⁴⁵ The monument for General Edward Braddock is near U. S. 40 about ten miles southeast of Uniontown.

a second time a decent interment.— the force of the French & Indians in this battle was estimated at only 300 men—& Braddocks army at 2200—yet so great was the consternation of the latter that it is supposed they would all have fallen had not the assailants been seduced by the plunder of the camp instead of pursuing their enemy.

In the year 1758. the campaign against the French was renewed with superior forces, in consequence of which the war terminated successfully to the British arms & the French were finally driven from North America— besides the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, the British forces were every where victorious—the attack on Fort Du Quesne was conducted by Gen^l Forbes¹⁴⁶ who marched from Philadelphia to Bedford & from thence constructed the northern road now called the old Pennsylvania road, and improperly Braddocks road— from Bedford this Army advanced to the Loyal Hanna¹⁴⁷ where Major Grant¹⁴⁸ was detached to reconnoiter Fort Du Quesne, and advanced to a hill within a few hundred yards of it—where owing to his rashness & expectation of reducing the Fort before the army came up, he was surrounded defeated & taken prisoner by the French Garrison— from this battle—the hill takes the name of Grants hill, being now a part of the town of Pittsburgh, & the seat of James Ross.

General Forbes's army arriving soon afterwards and consisting of 8000 men—the French evacuated and blew up the Fort and escaped down the Ohio— with the Fort the English also acquired the peace and future support of the Indians— the middle colonies were secured from future depredations, and sensible of the importance of this position, a new fortress was began at some distance above Fort Du Quesne. Fort du Quesne itself after its capture was called Fort Pitt in honor of Lord Chatham & the same name was given to the one which succeeded it.

From this period a large & regular British garrison was maintained here and peace continued with the Indians until the commencement of the revolutionary war,¹⁴⁹ when the fort came into the possession of the Colonists;— the Indians however taking part with the British & being supported from Canada retarded all improvement in the surrounding country & even for a great distance eastward broke up the

¹⁴⁶ General John Forbes.

¹⁴⁷ The Loyalhanna Creek at Fort Ligonier.

¹⁴⁸ Major James Grant made the first contact with the Indians and suffered a defeat. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, VI, 454-55.

¹⁴⁹ The diarist is overlooking the very severe depredations in western Pennsylvania during Pontiac's War in 1763.

settlements which had been formed so that a large regular garrison was maintained here by the American forces— at the peace of 1783— hostilities scarcely ceased with the Indians who had now been employed either by the English or French to exercise depredation on the same country for so many years that they had so much acquired the habit of pillage over all the middle states that their young warriors could scarcely be restrained from that wild & terrible warfare which they spread among the settlements with the cruelties peculiar to their savage customs— this disposition too if it was not increased was certainly not diminished by the jealousy which existed between the frontier settlers & the English troops who held the forts in Canada for several years after they were ceded by treaty to the United States— and if they did not secretly support the Indians—they prevented the United States from acquiring that ascendancy which the possession of those forts alone could have given them; so that the Indians remained untrouled and insubordinate perhaps with the expectation that the misunderstanding which existed respecting those fortresses would ripen again into hostilities.—

After various partial treaties & renewed depredations the frontiers were reduced to such a state that immediately on the establishment of the Federal constitution, Congress organized an army of 1400. men under General Harmar who marched into the territory North west of the Ohio, but was defeated by the Indians in 1790— In 1792—a second army under Gen^l St Clair¹⁵⁰ marched into the same country & met with the same fate, so that the situation of the country became deplorable & the Indians appeared constantly on the Alleganey opposite to Fort Pitt— at length in 1794. Gen^l. Wayne with a large Army proceeded into the North western territory now the State of the Ohio and on the 20th of August in a decisive battle at the confluence of the Au Glaise and Miami rivers¹⁵¹ totally defeated them and not only put an end to all further depredations on the existing settlements but to the Indian power over all that vast country which extends both north and south of the Ohio to the neighbourhood of the Lakes & of the Mississipi.—

This defeat was followed by Mr Jays treaty of 1795 with Great

¹⁵⁰ Revolutionary War General Arthur St. Clair was defeated by the Indians under Chief Little Turtle on November 4, 1791. *Ibid.*, III (1875), 274; Clark, *Frontier America*, p. 158.

¹⁵¹ This battle was on the Maumee River which was called Miami of the Lakes to distinguish it from the two rivers named Miami which flow southward into the Ohio River.

Britain by which the fortresses were given up and in the same year by a general treaty at Greenville¹⁵² between General Wayne and the Indians in which a large portion of the country I have mentioned was ceded to the United States

From this period Fort Pitt became useless as a fortress—a smaller one called Fort Fayette [was] erected—but the same event which deprived it of its importance as a military station laid the immediate foundation of its prosperity as a commercial & manufacturing town, for no sooner was the country north of the Ohio, and of the main road thro Pennsylvania secured from Indian depredations, than it became rapidly settled:

The settlements of the state of Pennsylvania had extended before the revolutionary war northward of the road leading thro it as far as the line called the line of the old purchase,¹⁵³ the land thus far being obtained from the Indians by the Proprietors of Pennsylvania by treaty— but the northern part of the state still remained Indian property, and their incursions during the war had driven off the settlers so that very few were maintained northward of a line from Pittsburg to Easton, on the Delaware this line however was rendered irregular by settlements which were maintained beyond it in some places, and by Indian excursions to the southward of it in others, it was also varied, by expeditions against the Indians which drove them at many periods to a great distance even as far as the state of New York itself— after the revolution, even while the Indians in the western counties and particularly beyond the Alleganey remained hostile treaties were made at different times between the Government of Pennsylvania and the five nations who held the lands within its boundary by which peace was partially established with them especially in the western counties and lands were also granted by the state as far as its western line.— but the victory obtained by Wayne and the treaty of Greenville to which it gave rise was the first great circumstance which gave security to the state thro its whole extent.

Immediately after the treaty the former settlers returned and others rapidly extended themselves, so that the counties now existing along the whole course of the Al[l]eganey river as far as the lakes of Canada—all those westward of the Alleganey mountain, both to the northward

¹⁵² Greenville, Ohio.

¹⁵³ The treaty line of 1768 followed the West Branch of the Susquehanna River to Cherry Tree, then west to Kittanning and along the Allegheny River and Ohio River to the Ohio border. Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, pp. 558-59.

& southward of the Pennsylvania road, those westward of the Monongahela and the country down the river, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, were at once opened to Pittsburgh as their great centre and emporium.

The rise of Pittsburgh therefore may be considered under the following heads.

1. The market it furnishes to the neighboring counties both for their own produce and for their supply with foreign articles.
2. The trade up the rivers Monongahela & Alleganey.
3. Its trade down the Ohio & Mississippi
4. The manufactures of Pittsburgh itself & its vicinity

The situation of Pittsburgh affords a market to all those counties of the state, which have an immediate access by navigation to the Alleganey or Monongahela rivers and to those eastward so far as the land carriage is the more cheap than to the Atlantic ports, taking into account the difference between the prices at Pittsburgh & those at Philadelphia & Baltimore— hence the produce of the State westward of the Alleganey mountain chiefly centers in Pittsburgh or in those towns where it can be embarked on the Monongahela or Allegany. Wheat, flour, iron, & every other article of produce instead of being sent eastward is conveyed to Pittsburg or to those ports. & the district of country which sends it to Pittsburgh alone is very considerable— this country is also supplied to a great extent with foreign articles in return—altho these numerous small towns which have arisen & are daily increasing in the counties themselves obtain immediate supplies of foreign articles from the ports of the Atlantic

The trade brought down the Allegany river is becoming immense— & altho the embarkation upon it down the Ohio itself is direct yet a large portion of it stops at Pittsburg—we have already remarked that the embarkations on the Monongahela from Brownsville & other ports was very great, but as the course of the voyages pursued from the various ports of the country down the Mississippi are very great both in time & the capital they require, that natural subdivision of trade by which it so much accelerated will every day increase and by these means, the farmer, the Miller & manufacturer instead of trusting his property to a long voyage will more & more consider Pittsburgh as the grand depot where he may dispose of it & end his cares by committing [it] to a second or intermediate sett of Merchants who will make it an object to pursue the remainder of the voyage—

The trade down the Ohio may be considered as the great object of Pittsburgh—& this leads us to take a view of the countries with which this trade connects it.

One of the first districts of country which was settled on the Ohio is that which now forms the state of Kentucky, this state is on the South side of the river it commences at great Sandy river, abt. 300 miles from Pittsburgh and extends about 800 miles along the course of the Ohio to Smithland.— the earliest settlements in this state were made about the year 1773. before the American revolution and notwithstanding the war the inhabitants continued to increase so rapidly that they not only cleared the country from the Indians but at the peace of 1783. they were computed at 30,000—& in 1800. at 220,000—

The state of Tennessee joins Kentucky on the Ohio¹⁵⁴ & extends from thence to its mouth & along the Mississippi near 200 miles

This state was formerly a part of North Carolina—settlements were formed in it before the revolution and in 1791. it contained 35,000 in 1795. 77,000—

These settlements on the south side of the Ohio extended themselves more rapidly partly because they were supplied with inhabitants from the western parts of Virginia & North Carolina & partly because the Indians on the south side were less hostile than those on the north, and especially towards the frontier of Pennsylvania—

Before the revolutionary war few or no settlements had been formed on the north side of the Ohio.—& in 1781. the state of Virginia who claimed the country as within their grant, ceded it to Congress for the use of the United States, after the peace of 1783. & during the partial suspension of Indian hostilities which ensued a treaty was held at Fort Mc Intosh in 1784¹⁵⁵ by which the Indians ceded a district of country on the Muskingum, Scioto, & Miami rivers,¹⁵⁶ in 1785. Congress directed a survey of a number of townships of 6. miles square beginning on the western boundary of Pennsylvania & extending westward, as a reward to the officers & soldiers who had fought in the revolutionary war—in 1787. Congress granted a tract of 1,500,000 acres to a Company formed in New England¹⁵⁷ who began the settlement at Marietta on the confluence of the Muskingum & Ohio in the following Spring.— this was the first considerable settlement in that country as before that period except a small fort & garrison on the west side of the Mus-

¹⁵⁴ Tennessee does not touch the Ohio River.

¹⁵⁵ The Treaty of Fort McIntosh was signed in January of 1785 with representatives of the Wyandotte, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa tribes. Clark, *Frontier America*, p. 143.

¹⁵⁶ The Miami River.

¹⁵⁷ The Ohio Company Associates was formed in Massachusetts on March 1, 1786. The principal leader was the Reverend Mr. Mannasseh Cutler. Clark, *Frontier America*, p. 149.

kingum, some small Indian & Moravian towns & a few straggling settlers without any regular grant of lands there were no inhabitants, in the Ohio territory—

In the same year a temporary government was organized under an act of Congress & Gen^l StClair appointed Governor

During this time however as I have already mentioned the state of the country with the Indians was unsettled and tho repeated treaties were made in 1788. & 1789. yet some of the tribes refused to concur in it & constant depredations were committed, so that it is computed, from 1783. to 1790. they killed or carried away 1500. persons either in passing down the river or from the settlements they had formed, & the repeated endeavors to preserve friendship with them being to little effect the United States were compelled to commence hostilities in 1790. —notwithstanding which the settlements already begun continued to increase.— the county of Washington was first formed to include the settlement of Marietta in 1788—& those of Hamilton, StClair & Knox¹⁵⁸ in 1790 which were all the counties erected before the peace of Greenville 1795 with Gen^l Wayne— in 1792—the Indians in this territory were estimated at 65,000— in 1798. there was supposed to be 15,000. white inhabitants— in 1800 a regular census was taken when they amounted to 45,365— in 1802. the state was regularly organized & admitted into the Federal Union¹⁵⁹ & the number of inhabitants are estimated in the last census of [1800] at [45,365].

The State of Ohio comprehends only a part of the great northwestern district of the United States, as it is bounded westward by a line from the mouth of Miami river running from thence northward it therefore comprehends the country on the north side of the Ohio only the distance of abt. 550 miles from Pittsburgh— beyond this to the mouth of the Kentucky river for about 70 miles, the country was included in the cession at the treaty of Greenville in 1795—but the line of the Indian grant as then ceded runs many degrees eastward of north so that it intersects the west boundary of the State of Ohio & leaves a triangular piece of country included in the state of Indiana which comprehends all the remaining country on the north side of the Ohio to the Mississipi and as far northward as the state or district of Detroit which includes the residue of the United States as far as the lakes—

Various purchases of the lands in Indiana have been made since

¹⁵⁸ These are counties in the state of Ohio.

¹⁵⁹ Thirty-five delegates met in Chillicothe, Ohio, during November, 1802, to draft a state constitution. Ohio was accepted as a state in the United States the following year. Clark, *Frontier America*, pp. 195-98.

Waynes treaty by Congress.—and the State itself was organized by an act passed May 7, 1800—

I have mentioned all the countries on the Ohio except that part of the state of Virginia on the south of the Ohio from Pennsylvania to Kentucky a distance on the river of abt. 300 miles— this country was more or less settled from Virginia before the American revolution, but the settlements on the Ohio were retarded during the wars with the Indians from the same causes I have mentioned.

On the Mississippi river there are yet few or no settlements of any consequence from the mouth of the Ohio for the distance of 670 miles, until we reach the village of Palmira in the district of the United States called the Mississippi territory, which commences at the end of the state of Tennessee and extends to the line of demarkation agreed upon between the United States and Spain—as the boundary of the Mississippi territory and Louisiana in Lat. 31.—

From Palmira the settlements continue southward along the river—both thro the Mississippi territory and that of Louisiana to New Orleans and the bay of Mexico.

The principal settlement in the former that is in the Mississippi state is Natchez formerly the seat of a powerful tribe of Indians and afterwards an important post both of the French, English, & Spaniards, here the culture of Sugars & most of the tropical fruits commences.—

The province of Louisiana as formerly held by the French & Spaniards was immense, & in a great degree undefined in its extent—comprehending both sides of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth on the bay of Mexico, but the whole of this country eastward of the Mississippi being ceded to Great Britain including the Floridas also by the peace of 1763, it became a British colony and so continued until the Spaniards reconquered Florida during the revolutionary war at the close of which in 1783.—Great Britain ceded all the country on the east side of the Mississippi to the United States & Florida to Spain—France also ceded all the rest of Louisiana to Spain—which nation thus held all the country westward of the Mississippi, and eastward of the Mississippi, bounded on the north by the United States and on the east by the river Iberville, being the boundary between provinces of Louisiana & Florida—

This country was retained by Spain from the peace of 1783. and after this period the line of demarcation between the Spanish and United States territory, was fixed as I have mentioned on the 31.° of Latitude—

In 1800 & 1801. Spain ceded Louisiana again to France who sold it

to the United States in 1803 so that the latter now possess all the country on the Mississippi, to the bay of Mexico— the country westward of the Mississippi is included in this grant as far as the Pacific ocean or as far as can be included in the bounds of old Louisiana which were never settled— the limits also of the United States territory to the eastward between New Orleans & Florida have not yet been settled with Spain by a clear definition and are the subject of present altercation.—

From the Natchez downwards on the east side of the Mississippi as far as New Orleans & for 10 to 15 leagues below it the settlements on the river are numerous and wealthy— these settlements were begun by the French inhabitants who remain there & a great accession has been made to them by the emigrations from the United States since they came into their possession.

On the west side of the river, there are settlements commencing abt. 15 miles below New Orleans and becoming populous as they approach that city they continue up the river as high as Point Coupee abt. 200 miles after which the shore of the river is overflowed & in morass for a vast extent westward except a small settlement called Concord opposite to the Natchez—and the settlements on Red river which are considerable until we ascend to the Arkansas another western river abt. 750 miles above New Orleans— above this & at a small distance below the mouth of the Ohio is the town of New Madrid¹⁶⁰—laid out by some American emigrants under the Spanish government before the cession to the United States— above New Madrid are the settlements of Cape Girardeau—St Genevieve¹⁶¹—St Louis & two settlements on the Missouri river called St Charles & St Andrew—

As yet the settlements of Louisiana to the westward of the Mississippi consist but of a few detached ports, at a great distance from each other —& divided by regions of inundated or unsettled country; those in the neighbourhood & westward of New Orleans have been chiefly made by the French & Spaniards— & stretch out in detached ports especially on the red river at Rapides Avoyelles & Natchitoches towards the Spanish settlements in Mexico to which the Red river forms a direct route—on the banks of the Mississippi, both on the east and west side

¹⁶⁰ In 1789 General Josiah Harmar wrote to Governor Arthur St. Clair of Ohio that "the people are all taken up with Col. Morgan's New Madrid," George Morgan was involved in the Burr Conspiracy trial. Quoted in Brown, *Mirror for Americans*, p. 32.

¹⁶¹ Cape Girardeau and St. Genevieve are in Missouri, south of St. Louis.

the settlers cultivated Sugar, cotton, in the interior westward, the country extends in vast meadows or prairies, in which cattle and horses are raised in immense numbers— the settlers on the river, especially on the east side are many of them immensely rich— above point Coupee and towards the Natchez the culture of sugar, & Indigo ceases, but Cotton becomes universal— on the west side the peltry or fur trade is carried on to great extent— as we ascend the river to upper Louisiana, the mines of lead on the western side are inex[h]austable & already furnish great quantities— salt also is very abundant & in the interior a vast mountain of it is said to exist— but the knowledge of the country westward of the Mississippi is as yet very limited— the chief accounts of it are in the travels of Capt Pike up the Red river, and those of Capt Lewis & Clarke up the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean— the former has been published but the latter has yet not made its appearance except indeed the journal of Patrick Glass one of the soldiers who accompanied Lewis & Clarke which gives an accurate statement of their progress but very little description of the country—

It will be observed that all those vast trade of the countries on the Ohio, the Mississippi and their waters is carried down those rivers & centers at New Orleans so far as relates to their productions so that in this respect the trade of Pittsburgh is inconsiderable as the rivers cannot be ascended but with great labor at the rate of abt. 15 miles per day and in those seasons when the waters are low & the current not rapid— at these times it is abt. 2. & 2 1/2 miles per hour—but when the Autumn & Spring freshes raise the rivers it becomes far more rapid so that while it is descended with ease—its ascent is impossible— every circumstance therefore tends to form the course of trade downwards, & with this view we must consider it even at Pittsburgh itself—

This circumstance of the streams of the rivers running downwards only, while it limits Pittsburgh from receiving the produce of the western country upwards secures it the supply of all the articles it can furnish downwards to them; some few articles are raised which will even bear the expense of being brought up the river particularly salt petre, lead hemp Cotton, but in general the course of trade [is determined] by furnishing all foreign articles brought from Philadelphia & Baltimore to Pittsburgh— these are here united to those which Pittsburgh & its vicinity or the great extent of upper country connected with it can furnish all of which are embarked down the river for the supply of the countries below.—& the trade continuing to descend finally centers at New Orleans from whence the returns are made to Philadelphia & Baltimore by sea in the numerous rich pro-

ductions New Orleans furnishes particularly Cotton, Sugar, Indigo, Peltry Lead & a variety of other articles—

The articles which Pittsburgh now furnishes & exports down the river in this way, besides foreign goods from Philadelphia which are generally ordered by the traders themselves and are little more than embarked at Pittsburgh are—Wheat, flour, Corn, Beef, Pork, Apples, Whiskey, Brandy, Glass ware & other manufactures of the place—Grindstones, Porter, Nails, Iron, & Salt.

It must be obvious that the early settlers of the countries on the western waters were obliged to take with them almost every article necessary for life, but more provisions were soon supplied by the abundance of game until the settlers could raise Wheat & corn for their support which from the fertility of the land almost immediately took place & now the settlements on the river have become so flourishing, as not only to want supplies of food no longer but to furnish them—for those who descend—the progress of cultivation also soon added to the supplies of wheat, flour &c which continued to be sent down as far as New Orleans—except therefore the immediate supply of boats; provisions are but little exported from Pittsburgh & flour itself is reduced to a mercantile article which must be sent to New Orleans before it can find a market—it is accordingly sent in large quantities altho, from the circumstance of its being sent only at periodical seasons—of the accumulation at those seasons being very great—of the difficulty of keeping it in so warm a climate as New Orleans & of the frequent accidents it has been subjected to on its passage it has often proved a bad speculation— New Orleans however and the territory around it will probably increase to so vast an extent as to require great supplies especially if a trade for this article becomes opened to the West Indies & other ports which must obviously take place—

Those articles however which Pittsburgh and its neighbourhood can furnish of the kinds which would otherwise be brought from abroad afford surer objects of trade, especially Salt, Iron, & manufactured articles— as yet all the countries below Pittsburgh are extremely destitute of these articles & they open an immense source of trade— I have before observed that Iron has not yet been discovered in large masses even in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, but it is sufficiently plentiful to be made to a considerable extent and new works are opening every day in every direction around it. the advantages of Coal also will not only enable the working of the poorest ores, but furnish almost every manufactured article to which Iron can be con-

verted so that until another source of supply is found in upper Louisiana or on the western waters of the Mississippi the demand for this article must be very great

Salt is now brought down from the western parts of New York,¹⁶² by way of Lake Erie & the Allegany river & is sold at Pittsburgh at \$2. per bushel— as yet this [is] the greatest source of supply, but it is probable others may be discovered as the appearance of salt at those places which are called Licks, owing to the resort of cattle deer & ca in the native state of the country to lick the earth impregnated with the salt are very numerous & some strong springs of this mineral have also been discovered—

The transport of goods & furnishing boats for the trade down the river is another important branch of the trade of Pittsburgh— even during the revolutionary war some boats were continually passing down the river, but after that war notwithstanding the hostilities of the Indians, the embarkations to Kentucky were immense, the passengers defending themselves from the Indians on their passage, tho sometimes taken by being decoyed on shore or shot from the banks of the river— in some years the number of families was very great indeed— those arriving from all parts of the States, here purchased boats of various kinds to descend to the places where they contemplated to settle and now altho the roads by land are opened still the number who descend are very great.

This embarkation on the river is not confined to Pittsburgh but takes place on all the towns or ports on the Monongahela [and] Allegany and on the Ohio itself below Pittsburgh— I have already remarked the extent to which it is carr[i]ed on at Brownsville which is more convenient for those families which come from Virginia— but the advantages of a better & more extensive supply of almost every article the settlers can require which will increase at Pittsburgh—its immediate contiguity to the Ohio itself,—and its direct access from all the eastern states will probably more & more confine this trade to itself— there are indeed some disadvantages which make a resource to other ports below it necessary at some seasons— the Ohio from Pittsburg to the port of Wheeling in Virginia for the distance of 96 miles rather takes a crooked or circuitous course to the SW. which is shortened by a land carriage of 58 miles and the port of Wheeling

¹⁶² James O'Hara proposed this trade in New York salt, according to an announcement in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* on August 20, 1796. Actual operation began some time later but at least by 1799. Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, pp. 296-97.

itself is more contiguous to the southern states particularly Virginia for which reason, the great road laid out by the United States from the city of Washington passes thro Fort Cumberland on the Patomack and first reaches the Ohio at Wheeling;¹⁶³ but the carriage of goods except on this route below Fort Pitt is confined to those seasons when the water of the Ohio is low and the annual inundations are so constant & so powerful that this deviation will be but a partial exception to the general conveyance & embarkation which must always find its great center at this town

It is nearly impossible to give an idea of the extent of commerce down the river as it extends itself so rapidly in every direction— I have mentioned before that the state of Tennessee was settled so early as 1751. & Kentucky in 1773 and notwithstanding the wars with the Indians the embarkations of settlers down the river for those states and particularly the latter was constant & great—tho the boats were exposed to capture, murder & depredation during the Indian wars, they succeeded so generally, that the population of Kentucky proceeded with astonishing rapidity and since the Indian treaty the States of Ohio & Indiana have been filled with people with equal rapidity— I can do no better therefore than exhibit a short state of the towns & number of inhabitants of all these extensive districts from the latest census—or other accounts—

From Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Ohio there are now upwards of 30 towns or settlements most of which are in a flo[u]rishing [condition] immediately on the river, besides those in the interior of the several states which border on it & their respective rivers which for want of a late & correct map I am unable to mention— on the north side there are the important rivers of Muskingum, Scioto & two Miamis in the State of Ohio & the Wabash in Indiana—which extend their branches far to the north towards the Lakes & interlock with the Cayahoga—Huron—Sandusky Miama, & St Joseph rivers which fall into the lakes Erie & Michigan¹⁶⁴ themselves— on the south are the little & great Kenhawa¹⁶⁵ & Sandy river in Virginia & Licking, Kentucke, Ohioming,¹⁶⁶ & Green river in the State of Kentucky & Cumberland & Tennessee¹⁶⁷ in the State of Tennessee, all which extend far to the

¹⁶³ The National Road was being designed at the time of Gilpin's visit.

¹⁶⁴ The diarist is a little vague on geography at this point as none of the rivers he names flow into Lake Michigan.

¹⁶⁵ Kanawha in West Virginia.

¹⁶⁶ The Salt River is evidently intended.

¹⁶⁷ Gilpin was apparently unaware that both the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers entered the Ohio in Kentucky rather than Tennessee.

southward thro the several states of Virginia, Kentucky & Tennessee— all these are large & powerful streams, most of them capable of boat navigation to a great distance beyond their confluence with the Ohio— there are also a great number of smaller streams or rivers— on all these various branches of the Ohio whether great or small numerous settlements and many towns have been built & the whole of the produce they furnish is brought down to the Ohio and from thence into the great parent stream the Mississippi itself—

The population of these states at the last census in [1800] was as follows.

The State of Ohio	[45,365]
of Indiana	[5,641]
Kentucky	[220,959]
Tennessee.	[105,602]

Besides these the settlements on the Mississippi itself & of that part of Virginia which borders on the Ohio are so mingled with other states that it is impossible to collect them in all however we may collect that the population which must depend more or less on supplies thro the medium of Pittsburgh is immense, and from the rapidity with which the settlements every where increase, we are at a lost to calculate its extent with anything approaching to accuracy—

The manufactures of Pittsburg itself & of all the neighboring country rests upon circumstances which must ensure them the most decided success— in the first place the carriage of all articles from the Atlantic ports costs \$6 per Cwt— this therefore is an advantage in their favor which can never be diminished— duties and charges on trade which equalize the produce at home & give the manufacturer an advantage over those of other countries may be withdrawn or affected by a variety of circumstances— but a land carriage of 300 miles is a charge so fixed and immutable that notwithstanding every improvement it may undergo, it must forever operate on all articles of weight & bulk, which comprize by far the greater number of those—most immediately necessary and useful so as to give a preponderance in favor of their being made in the western country which will counteract the price of labor, or almost every other circumstance that can affect them— this charge on raw iron is no less than \$120 per ton—on salt—\$5 per Cwt—on sugar \$6. per Cwt & on every other article in proportion to its bulk— besides, the accidents which are unavoidable in so long a portage damage in bad weather—& the great waste & breakage on Liquors— Glass—Pottery and every article of those kinds which can be affected

by the continual agitation for 25 days over mountains & roads in all seasons extremely rough and in some nearly impassable—

The next circumstance is the cheapness of living and the ease of forming an outset in life for people of the poorest condition— from an account of the average market prices at Pittsburgh I subjoin the following list of the most necessary articles of life is taken from a late publication at Pittsburgh, and the facts it states are so evident on enquiry & a knowledge of the country that they admit of no doubt—

Wheat	67 cents per bushell
Flour	2.00. per Cwt.
IndCorn	33. per bus.
Beef	4 per lb.
Pork	3. "
Mutton	4. "
Venison	3. "
Bacon	
Fowls	each
Turkies	

Eggs 10. per doz—& vegetables are generally raised by every family with little labor the rent of land for the purpose being almost nothing— house rent is also very little—& the ease with which lots may be taken on perpetual ground rent or bought in fee simple, & a wooden house built upon induces almost every man to be the proprietor of his own establishment—

The price of labor for common workmen is from 67. cts to \$1. per day, and a tradesman or manufacturer obtains more in proportion than in any other country— when therefore the amount of wages is balanced against the cheapness of living, it will be seen how soon the savings of the poorest man enables him to purchase his own independence especially when lands are offered in every situation around him at almost every price, from 25 cents to \$20 per acre— purchases however at any distance from Pittsburgh or towns where it has risen in consequence of improvement may be had of the finest quality, from \$2 to \$4 per acre, & the buyer on paying a small proportion can obtain credit for the residue for a considerable length of time, with this advantage that if his settlement is at all well chosen it becomes surrounded by others and brought into a value in a few years by the increasing population of the country.

This state of affairs is balanced by inconveniences arising nearly altogether from itself but which cannot operate on habits of steady industry— the ease with which a poor man can obtain independence

on a farm or a work shop of his own, lessens the number of laborers— & too many will rather fix themselves on their own means before they acquire enough to render those means adequate to their comfort— the life of a settler especially in the woods, presents such a mixed occupation of the hunter & farmer that the unsteady individual is often reduced to ramble in quest of game rather than cut down his woods & improve his lands, & the extreme ease with which a comfortable subsistence is provided often renders the master of the family improvident in attaining a permanent security— in this the characters of the various settlers is conspicuous— the Irish settlers form the bold pioneers of the country, they move into the wilderness advanced beyond all others where they first contend with the Indians & then with the game— the Bears, Wolves, & Deer soon vanish from their society but they content themselves with rude Cabins & a few acres of ground badly cleared—seldom becoming neat improvers of land and too often spending the product of their labor in whiskey—and when by their rude efforts, they have given security to the woods their settlements are purchased by the Dutch, who form the next grade of settlers & improve their lands with the most persevering industry— the English & native settlers follow next—& give a degree of civilization & comfort to which the two former classes are in a great [degree] strangers, while they advancing successively on each other go on still farther into the western wilds—

The last circumstance in favor of manufactures of this country is the existence of mineral substances in such abundance, and to be acquired with such ease as is unrivalled perhaps in any part of the Globe— Coal the basis of almost every manufacture is here the spontaneous gift of nature in every place where it can [be] applied— it is so universally diffused over all the country westward of the Alleganey mountain, that no mineral—vegetable—or animal, can be furnished in any place where coal is not to be had either on the spot or so near it as to bring it into immediate operation— the high bank of the river opposite Pittsburgh exhibits on its surface open to day & immediately bordering on the river a stratum of Coal of the finest quality 14 feet thick— horizontal in its position—& of [an] extent which can not be traced— this lies sufficiently above the river to be secure from freshes, but is with little labor thrown into boats which approach within a few yards & in many places immediately beneath the stratum itself— it is then taken from the drift or tunnells, put into boats, landed at Pittsburgh on the opposite shore and carted to the houses there for 5 cents per bushell— and at the coal bank itself, Manufactures are

formed, where it does not cost more than the mere labor of throwing it a few yards from the pit to the furnace— the land under which this coal exists is of the finest quality & tho its being immediately on the river & opposite the town renders it highly valuable— the monopoly of its advantages are prevented by the knowledge that every hill around the town & over the vast expanse of country contains the same treasure attainable at a very moderate increase of expense—

Besides Coal there is little doubt but that a vast number of other mineral substances are to be found many of them are already discovered and when we consider that the vast portion of the country especially nearly all the mountains are covered with forests and in the rudest state of nature and that its settlement has so recently [begun] it is surprizing that so great a progress has been made—

Iron is discovered almost every where it seems to accompany the Coal in the same horizontal stratum all over the country, but it is in general very thin, not exceeding where I have seen it 15 ^{ins} thick— in the mountains it exists in larger quantities, tho it has no where yet been discovered in any great masses— all the ores I have seen are iron stone & some bog ores the last of which are the richest and most easily obtained but none of the native carbonates oxides or richer ores have been found—those which are worked I am informed yield abt. 30 to 35 per cent.—& in general are attended with this disadvantage that the greatest quantities found have been worked out or are liable to be so in a few years so that the furnaces are rendered the less valuable by the necessity of changing them— this inconvenience is now the greater from the smelting being all done by charcoal—so that ores must be found contiguous to those mountainous districts, where the supply of wood is likely to be permanent— it does not seem probable that ores much different in their quality will be found in that country where the whole strata seem to have derived their origin from the same common cause—and to be distributed with the same regularity, but in the mountains both richer ores & larger masses may be discovered— in the meantime the disadvantages of this poverty in the quality & quantity of the ore is more than balanced by a variety of considerations— the immense country for which iron must be obtained from these sources will furnish an increasing & inexhaustible demand—& when the operation of smelting it with Coal is adopted, the poorest ores may be worked wherever they are found—as they now are at Coalbrookdale—Carron—& in Wales where the vast works which have been established do not depend on the rich quality of the ore, but on its being found in the same spot with coal for its fusion—

I have already said that the present Iron works are chiefly confined to the mountains—particularly the Chesnut ridge—considerable quantities are however brought from other works among the ridges further eastward—& the works are extending in every direction, as they are very profitable where any extent of ore can be found—the furnaces yield pigs and castings such as stoves—pots, &c.—& most of them are connected with forges, and slitting mills where bar iron, nail rods, sheet iron &c. are made—then supply nail manufactures and smithies which are abundant all over the country, as its rough soil requires an unusual number [of blacksmiths] for horses, ploughs, & other common purposes—the coarse edge tools also such as axes—&c. are almost every where made—the fine articles of cutlery &c. are as yet principally obtained from importation or the manufacture of Philadelphia—but these are becoming more or less established in the towns—in Pittsburgh there is already 1. air furnace¹⁶⁸ in Pittsburgh & the manufacture of steel has been attempted at Brownsville & has succeeded at Bedford and perhaps in other places of which I am not informed as next to Iron it must be a most desirable object to this country—besides the articles manufactured by common smiths there are the following which more or less are manufactures of iron—

4 nail factories
1 wire weaver

2 Gunsmiths
4 plane makers
1 lock maker

1 cutler—besides 17 smiths, 5 ship builders— it is to be remarked however that the blacksmiths extend their trade more or less to every kind of iron utensil—& that from a want of the subdivision of labor which exists in other countries being not yet established here—the furnaces—forges & common smiths supply a vast extent of articles which elsewhere form separate branches— thus axes, scythes, sickles, hammers, chizzels, augers &c. are made to great extent—by the smiths & hollow ware¹⁶⁹—mill irons, &c. by the Furnaces—

No other metals have yet been brought into use—Copper, & Lead have both been discovered in several places, but are not yet smelted

¹⁶⁸ Gilpin's observation of an air furnace in Pittsburgh is of interest in iron history because that term is normally used as an alternate designation of a reverberatory furnace. Isaac Meason is reported to have opened the first such furnace in 1817 (*see* Note 87). However, Bining noted that cupolas were called air furnaces in the eighteenth century, so it is probable that Gilpin had seen a cupola. Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, pp. 86-87; H. M. Boylston, *An Introduction to the Metallurgy of Iron and Steel* (New York, 1936), p. 149.

¹⁶⁹ Iron kettles, pots, etc.

except the Lead on the Mississippi where it is found in such inex[h]austible quantities as to be sent to almost every part of the United States & is brought up the Ohio to Pittsburgh— manufactures of shot, & some of them the round kind cooled by the air similar to the patent shot have been established in the western country— in general those manufactures which use Copper, brass, & other metals procure them mostly from Philadelphia— owing to the numerous distilleries—Coppersmiths find great employ at Pittsburgh where there are two—also many Tin workers, & one japanner¹⁷⁰—

Next to Coal & the metals the mineral substances which of all others appears the most important is that of Salt— indeed this article enters so much into the immediate use & wants of mankind, that the western country must have felt the disadvantage of being supplied with it from abroad nearly as much as food & cloathing themselves.— but this substance also seems to be universally diffused over it, in general in small quantities but in many places in sufficient abundance— Salt Springs are very frequently to be found, tho often very weak, & the earth seems in numerous places impregnated with salt itself, which has been generally discovered on the sides of hills, & in places of a loose soil by the beasts of the forest in its native state from whence they are called licks & the various names which occur of Licking river, Black lick, Two lick &c derive their origin from these discoveries— there are many places in which salt has been made from the Springs in Pennsylvania itself and we were shewn some excellent salt made from a spring on Blacklick creek— but like other minerals the state of the country has not yet either discovered them to the extent or brought them into the use which will doubtless hereafter be done— a very powerful spring is said to exist on the Youghiogeny the property of Mr Chew¹⁷¹ of Philadelphia but as yet it has been worked scarcely to any effect, the springs in the Genessee country however are worked to such extent that vast quantities of Salt are brought by the portages of Lake Erie down the Alleganey river to Pittsburgh where it is sold at \$2 per bushell which is little more than 1/3d the price it could be obtained from Philadelphia— there are also powerful Springs in the States of Ohio, Kentucky & Indiana. & if the existence of an immense mountain of native salt to the extent of many miles in the upper Louisiana westward of the Mississippi which the late President of the

¹⁷⁰ A japanner was a worker in varnishes or lacquer.

¹⁷¹ Mr. Chew, of Philadelphia, was Benjamin Chew. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 124, 183, 281, 331; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, ed. William Henry Egle (Harrisburg, 1894-1899), XXVI, 407.

United States announced to the world & was at no small trouble to have explored,¹⁷² be confirmed of which there seems but little doubt—this great interior country will not only command its own supply, but may furnish it to other countries—

As the article of Salt has afforded a material source of revenue to the Government of many countries & has been adopted as an article upon which taxation may be founded—Congress have provided for this circumstance in the New States which they have founded— the Proprietors of the old government as well as the Court of Great Britain where [were] either ignorant or negligent of this advantage— hence throughout Pennsylvania and indeed all the original states, Salt springs or mines as well as all others but gold & silver were sold with the soil and are the common property of its owners— but in the grants made by Congress in the western country all salt springs & licks are reserved together with a large body of land around them which may yield fuel for their support or rise into superior value by their advantage— many of these Springs are now worked at public expense or farmed under limitations as to the price at which the salt shall be sold— this circumstance has prevented a monopoly of the manufacture by individuals & hence has arisen a price for this article in a great degree fixed.

The next manufacture from mineral substances which has been attempted is Glass.— this shewes in how great a degree the wants of a country are the surest basis on which manufactures are founded— and the immediate advantages attending the use of Coal— Glass is one of the most necessary articles of life— it is the best of all substances to retain all sorts of liquid substances & it gives the convenience of light to our houses without exposing us to the rigor of the seasons especially in climates subject to the severest vicissitudes of heat & cold— if not the most absolutely useful it is one of the most convenient articles required from the poorest & rudest settler to the most luxurious one; the cost of this article when procured at Philadelphia would be more than doubled by carriage to Pittsburgh since a black glass bottle which costs 5 cents would require 6 more to convey it.— add to this that there is no article whose price is so exceedingly enhanced by accident.— it could rarely happen that a crate of bottles could pass over the mountains without a large portion of it being broken—& bottles for liquors must be a luxury to the western inhabitants— Window glass tho packed with the utmost care has been found to be

¹⁷² By Lewis and Clark.

all broken, & at any rate became a dear article— the manufacture of glass therefore was early attempted; in the first instances wood was used to make it—but this would necessarily confine it to the hills or remoter situations which would but partially overcome the disadvantages of conveying it— no article therefore is more suitable for manufacture at a town where its uses were extensive & from which it could be conveyed by water— the enterprize of Genl OHara one of the earliest settlers of Pittsburgh since its rise as a town & to whom it has at once owed a large proportion of its prosperity and contributed to afford him a princely fortune—first introduced this manufacture— his works are situated on the western bank of the Monongahela opposite to the town and immediately on the Bank of Coal, so that it is impossible to possess greater advantages for the business— this manufacture is confined to black & green glass principally bottles & window glass which it furnishes of a very good quality & at reasonable prices the common quart bottles being \$[] per doz and the Window glass [\$]¹⁷³

In the town of Pittsburgh are two white glass houses—both of which manufacture good glass.— one of them in which I believe Genl OHara is concerned was not in blast nor had I an opportunity of examining its quality with more attention than to determine that the Articles are as I have stated them— the other I saw in operation and examined attentively— it produces every article of pure white glass equal to the general good glass used in England besides, Decanters, tumblers, wine glasses phials & the most necessary articles the Store room furnished a variety of large Lamps—& articles of taste & luxury; some Chandeliers of a large size have been made & the glass is well cut as by a singular transition of fortune the Glass cutter who carries on that business here was formerly the artist of Louis the 16th

The first manufacture of Glass in the western country was I believe introduced in 17[96]¹⁷⁴ by M^r Gallatin the present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States & was founded at a settlement made

¹⁷³ Gilpin had evidently intended to secure these prices of glass and, neglecting to do so, left them blank.

¹⁷⁴ Again information is lacking which Gilpin had intended to supply. Albert Gallatin settled in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, in 1786. He started manufacturing glass at his New Geneva Glass Works in 1796. He served in Congress, was secretary of the treasury for Presidents Jefferson and Madison and represented the United States on several diplomatic missions. He directed the early planning for the National Road. Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, pp. 166-98; Wiley, *Monongahela*, p. 205; for correspondence on the National Road, see Searight, *The Old Pike*.

or improved by him & called Geneva after the place of his birth,¹⁷⁵ the works were on the East side of the Monongahela near the borders of Virginia, & have since been removed to the opposite or western side— I have been told that these works have produced him a handsome fortune the smelting was I believe carried on by wood & I am not informed whether they have substituted coal— the sand for the glass I am told was found in the country, but the clay necessary for the potts was brought at a great expense from the banks of the Delaware, but this must have arisen from want of knowledge to discover clays proper for the purpose in the vicinity of the works— the person who conducts the white glass house I have spoken of at Pittsburgh informs us that he has found excellent clay similar to the Stourbridge clay in England which is the best of the kind used in Europe & the pots he shewed both in the oven & furnace where [*sic*] as good as any I have seen in England— he informed me that this clay as well as fire clay, & excellent sand were all found in the vicinity of Pittsburgh his red lead is also manufactured by himself from lead of the Mississippi so that except for some few articles for colored glass he seems in independent possession of all the articles necessary for his manufacture derived from the spot

The prices of the white glass were not so high as the British glass at Philadelphia of course all the cost of carriage, breakage is saved— the Manufacture is also in its infancy, & carried on immediately after the expenses of its establishment—of course the prices will be higher than after it becomes well established or than after other similar Manufactures are diffused thro the country which no doubt will be the case if this is permanently successful of which there seems little to be apprehended—

The next material manufacture of earths seems to be that of Pottery— next to Glass & perhaps equal to it is the want of a good common & cheap article for domestic consumption for plates dishes & the various other uses which a pottery furnishes— in this respect it must be allowed that the common wares of England are beyond all doubt the most useful as they combine a strength & neatness far beyond those of any other country, with far less expense than Porcelain or China ware— the introduction of this manufacture into every part of the United States is a great object and particularly in the western country where the same circumstances which attend glass ware apply equally to them—

¹⁷⁵ Gallatin was of Swiss birth. Russell J. Ferguson, "Albert Gallatin, Western Pennsylvania Politician," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XVI (1933), pp. 183-95.

As yet this manufacture has not been attempted at Pittsburgh— there are two Potteries but they make only the ordinary wares, which by no means supercede the use of imported foreign wares of the kind I have mentioned—

The great desiderata in this species of earthen ware are a pure clay, which will burn to a perfectly white color & flint which when mixed with the clay gives it the proper degree of vitrification—these two substances have in vain been looked for in the United States—of all the clays I have seen there appears none which have at all a similarity to those immense masses which line the coasts of the British channell & which extend thro France as well as England— these clays abound in those mountains which are formed of alternate strata of chalk & flint, & yield at once both the articles on which the British manufacture is founded— the actual clay itself is no other than those parts of the chalk which is sufficiently mixed with argillaceous earth, to retain its compactness by heat—in which shape it forms the earth called the Tobacco pipe clay which is found on the coasts of Dorset & Devonshire evidently where the ridges of Chalk which extend thro the eastern counties of England begin to combine with & lose their character among the very different substances which compose the western hills of the Island while the flint stone, approaching to more purity in the Chalk which is less mixed is selected on the eastern shores particularly on the Thames and at Hull—

The discovery of these two species of earth—in the manner they are found in England would be too obvious to occasion any mistake as they would sufficiently speak for themselves— I am told that chalk has been found on the shores of Lake Erie— if so we may hope to find those clays & the flint necessary for the purpose but it appears to me in vain to look for any thing of the kind among the primitive substances which universally prevail on the eastern sides of the mountains and shores of the Atlantic;¹⁷⁶ I have seen many clays white in appearance particularly along the Delaware but they all seem to possess one or both of two qualities which render them unfit for the manufacture of earthen ware. 1st that they abound in particles of mica or other primitive substances which injure their tenacity when exposed to heat and 2^{dly}, they have such a portion of iron that they are subject to a red color when heated either throughout or in veins which

¹⁷⁶ Josiah Wedgewood bought five tons of North Carolina white clay in 1768 and had it shipped to England for his pottery works. He also imported clay from Australia, China, and elsewhere in the world. Ralph and Terry Kovel, "Why Wedgewood Is Special," *Lancaster (Pa.) Sunday News*, April 21, 1968, p. 27.

prevent their becoming perfectly white— the red color is no doubt derived from iron every where partially scattered over the Atlantic shores, and perhaps deriving its origin from the trees and vegetables with which they have been covered.

It is here there is a much greater chance of discovering those substances which are convertible to porcelain or china ware since they are altogether of a different quality from those which compose the common or Queens ware— in many manufactures the composition of Porcelain is very much a factitious earth produced from bones reduced to a fine caly [clay] are more or less used to produce a fine white earth mixed with other substances— but the Kaolin of the Chinese appears to be a soft unctuous earth more resembling soap stone and probably of the muriatic [steatitic] genus, which abounds in the eastern states & particularly in Pennsylvania— and the Petuntse which is used to give it a high degree of vitrification is a coarse species of granite or Quartz with which also the hills on the Seacoast & those particularly near Philadelphia abound— both these substances may therefore and in all probability will be discovered—& indeed it is within my memory that a manufacture of china was carried on at Philadelphia—in which I can remember that bones were calcined & ground into a white clay— probably to mix with other clays or substances discovered near that city— in whatever shape however China or Porcelain is introduced it is an article of considerable expense and complex in its manufacture so as in no degree to answer the purposes of common use especially in a new country of simple habits and little superfluous capital—¹⁷⁷

It is extremely probable that the want of flint similar to that of England may be supplied—numerous siliceous stones abound in the mountains particularly. the coarser granites which are composed in a great degree of vitrescent particles, the Moor stone & Cherte in England have been already used in making china both of which are produced in our mountains— flints also wherever they are found will bear a great carriage since the quantity of this stone which enters into the composition of earthen ware is only in the proportion of 4 parts to 18. 20. & 24. of clay according to the different kinds of ware which is made— both clay also as well as flint will bear the expense of considerable carriage— most of the clays used in the potteries which are situated in the middle counties of England are brought by sea

¹⁷⁷ By 1815 "Messrs. Trotter and Company" were making "Queensware Pottery" at Pittsburgh. Their products consisted of "pitchers, coffee and tea pots and cups, bowls, jugs, &c. similar to those of the Potteries in Philadelphia." *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 142.

from the coast of Dorsetshire¹⁷⁸ for at least 300 miles by land to Liverpool where they are again conveyed 50 or 60 more by canals & so inferior is the price of carriage on these articles combined compared to that of the fuel used in them that most or all the Potteries have been successively removed from those counties where the materials are produced, to those districts abounding in Coal.

There seems more reason to encourage the search for clays in the western country than in any part of the Atlantic States which I have seen, not perhaps for the same species which abounds in France & England but for others which may more or less supply the same purposes, among the reasons which induce me to entertain this opinion are the following

- 1 The whole western country beyond the Alleganey mountain appears destitute of primitive substances; at least if they exist they are covered by an immense mass of other earths evidently deposited by the solution or the action of water and in shales so horizontal that it is probable their formation has never been disturbed by the violence of currents, or other affects which have produced in them any material derangement from the natural subsidence of a regular and uniform mass of water which most probably has been a vast interior lake— I have often mentioned the uniform horizontal position of all the different strata which also appear to be throughout nearly if not altogether of the same thickness and of the same substances— irregularity seems to exist only on the surface which has been divided into innumerable small hills by the rivulets which have been formed in the vast plain to draw off the torrents from the surface.

2. The substances deposited appear to have been formed in fresh and not salt water— the shells which I have seen appear to be all fresh water and not sea shells.— the immense quantity of coal and bituminous substances owe their origin most probably to vegetation which can only exist in fresh water— the calcareous earths abound by no means in such huge proportion as may naturally be called for in waters covered by the sea.— the marine salts also are partially & not generally diffused and the free stone or sand contains no marks of fish or any marine shells.

3. Argillaceous soils prevail to an immense extent— the upper strata immediately beneath the vegetable soil appears extremely inclined

¹⁷⁸ Dorsetshire, on the southwest coast of England, is about two hundred air miles from Liverpool. Gilpin's reference to carriage by sea and three hundred miles by land is unclear. He apparently meant the clays could reach Liverpool by either means of transportation.

toward being mostly waxy, & unctuous—and the vast beds of earth which extend from the tops of the hills which had probably been near the level of the original plain are composed of argillaceous earths & of a great quantity of aluminous schale & of compact stones evidently indurated clays composed of substances which from no grit at all increase in the size of their particles to sand stones, sometimes of a coarse quality but always even and uniform in their texture.

4 So large a portion of Alum appears to abound throughout the country, that together with the sulphur & sulphuric acid found in or connected with the coal—the particles of iron which might otherwise be diffused & united with the clays, are taken up by a superior [?] attraction—and either deposited in distinct masses or formed into other salts.— this is remarkably the case in the collieries at Connellsville, where the strata immediately above the Coal and the seams of coal itself exposed to the weather furnish both Copperas, vitriol, allum & sulphur in flowers or efflorescence in considerable abundance—

5. Clays of considerable purity are very frequently found between strata of coal—or beneath large beds of it—& it should seem, that either by the portion of bitumen which they imbibe from it, or from the sulphur, which the coal furnishes it acts in many instances as a protection to the beds of clay beneath it and keeps them from being injured by other substances— a variety of good clays are found among the coal pits in Staffordshire¹⁷⁹— the Stourbridge clay is also if I am rightly informed dug from amongst the coal— fire brick is also found in many of the pits, and I have seen bricks in the western country, so much approaching to the earthy or yellowish color of those in many parts of England as to induce me to think that similar Clays may be found— the Indian pottery ware also of which a great many fragments are every day dug up, appears generally burnt but seldom red at least in the district of Redstone or that around Pittsburgh: a general prejudice however prevails in favor of red brick, and I believe it is extended so far as that clay which does not burn red is not good for the purpose— if however the clays were more attended to experiments tried by simply burning them in a hot fire & preserving them when they appear of a white or yellow instead of red color, it would probably soon result in the discovery of clays proper for pottery ware—

Nitre abounds in the western country—since caves in Kentucky are said to yield it in large quantities and a considerable parcell was lately brought up the Ohio & sent to the Powder Mills at Brandy-

¹⁷⁹ Pottery-making district in England.

wine— Powder mills have also been established in many places to the westward depending I believe altogether on native productions— it seems extremely probable from the natural saltpetre which is produced & from the ease with which it is artificially made that in the western states the earth has the facility of producing it in the same manner & to the same extent as in India & many other countries.

The manufacture of Sugar is an article of great importance to the western country a pound of Sugar costs at Philadelphia 10 cents— the carriage of it is 6. and estimating the waste, damage, & profit of the dealer it cannot be sold under 20. cents & upwards at Pittsburgh which is too dear for the poorer classes of people— but the forests universally yield the Sugar maple or Sugar Tree from whence it is made in great quantities.— almost every farm has more or fewer of the Trees and a good sugar camp is considered as an appendage of considerable value. indeed without it the greater number of the settlers must relinquish the article of sugar altogether.— the process of making it is simple & exercised generally by the women of the family— the trees are almost of every size & often very large— they are bored with an augur about a foot from the ground thro the bark into the sap of the trees and a small hollow pipe made of Chesnut bark is introduced to convey the juice which is received in small troughs of wood— the Sap begins to run the first warm days in the Spring when the trees are newly tapped, the pipes introduced, & the troughs set to catch the juice— the camp is then formed, by erecting a kettle in a rude shed which serves as a boiling house, where the women who attend the process must remain day & night in order to take up the troughs as they are filled pour them into the boiler & draw off the Syrup when it is sufficiently boiled or evaporated to cool— during the process when the syrup thickens if it is not constantly stirred it will form a hard tough brown mass or cake at the bottom which is sweet & is substantially sugar, but it is by no means so useful or so elegant as when it is properly stirred & suffered to granulate— it is almost needless to say that the sugar thus made is of various qualities, most of it being, dark, brown, & by no means handsome to the eye— a great deal however is very good— a good tree yields about¹⁸⁰ [] gallons of juice and [] gallons makes [] of sugar—a tree therefore in general will yield about [] lbs in the

¹⁸⁰ Four spaces were left in this and succeeding lines to fill in quantities of production from the maple trees, but none of this information was supplied. Perhaps he discovered there were great differences depending upon the size of the trees, the location, and the season.

season.— it is sold at about .12 cents, one half the price of Muscovado¹⁸¹ sugar.—

The supply of liquor, for drinking is an article of immense importance— these would pay at the rate of 48 cents per gallon carriage besides their great waste & being subject to pilfer— a gallon of Rum which would cost at Philadelphia one dollar could scarcely be retailed in Pittsburgh for \$2—& French brandy not less than \$3.— Wine is in the same proportion, & Porter or Beer which would cost abt. 12 cents per gall—must rise to the extravagant price of 75 cents— it must be obvious therefore that the latter article would nearly be prohibited. & wine or brandy is confined to persons who can afford the high expense of them— the supply of cheap liquors therefore is obviously an advantageous manufacture— no wine is as yet attempted, the woods abound in a small native grape, but few attempts have been made to improve them to introduce better qualities, or to form them into liquor— the encouragement for raising Orchards is however very great, both of Apples & Peaches which thrive in a manner superior to almost any other country— the Peaches in particular are very fine.— besides great quantities of Cyder, both apples & peaches are distilled to a great extent, the latter in particular & forms a good brandy most delightfully flavored— At Pittsburgh there are two breweries one for Porter¹⁸² which is a very considerable one owned by Genl. OHara & it produces excellent porter for which there is of course a great demand, not only for the town & a large extent of country around it but down the Ohio.— its price is \$6. & Beer \$5 per barrell & Cyder \$4.— The great manufacture for liquors however is that of Whiskey, sometimes from apples but generally from grain and from Rye in particular— small stills are every where extended thro the country among the farmers who raise & distill their own grain— others are of a more extensive nature & manufacture great quantities— it is the universal beverage of the country, and an excise attempted upon it produced the rebellion of 1791. & consequent repeal of the act— in general it is an ordinary bad liquor, but when proper care is taken it is tolerable, in a large portion of the country nothing else is to be found—and as the water of this country is often bad the traveller is compelled from necessity to use it— at all decent Inns we generally found wine, porter, or other decent liquors but where we diverged from the great roads

¹⁸¹ *I.e.*, cane sugar.

¹⁸² There were three breweries in Pittsburgh in 1815 with an annual production of ten thousand barrels. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 140.

we were obliged to take either brandy or whiskey with us as our guides & attendants always claimed it and we could often obtain greater favors by a drink of whiskey than by a considerable sum of money— Whiskey generally sells at abt. 40 to 50 cents per gallon¹⁸³—& Peach brandy abt. 80 cents—

The manufacture of cloathing tho yet in its infancy is carried on to considerable extent and a considerable quantity is brought to market for sale— domestic or family manufactures are universal— tho no large flocks of sheep are raised yet every farmer continues to keep as many as will to a great extent supply his family with the most useful & necessary articles, as wool however is the most scarce article it is more or less extended in its uses by mixing it with Cotton & particularly with flax which is raised every where— Cotton is not only furnished from the Atlantic states but is brought up the Ohio from Kentuckey and Tennessee where it is raised and its supply being immense it is becoming the staple article for cloathing, as a great part of the year is warm, the cloathing for that part of it is light— the linnen worn by the farmers and laboring people is nearly altogether made in their families and the Summer coats & trowsers which are the chief articles of dress are generally a striped cloth made of linnen & cotton— Stockings are generally knit in the family, & most industrious people continue to make a piece of good woollen cloth for coats great coats & winter wear— the women wear linzey a striped substance of wool and cotton or linnen in winter, & a neat substantial striped cotton which they call a Gingham from its being wove after the patterns of foreign cloths of that kind, but it is by far a more strong & substantial dress— these articles are really made up in the fashion of the city & give the peasantry a neat appearance— for sundays & holidays a nice print or muslin is generally added, & with caps & hats which would not disgrace Philadelphia itself—

most of the stores are also furnished with homespun which tho dearer than foreign articles is more useful— fine cloths are as yet generally imported, I find however in the enumeration of the Pittsburgh articles—that 80,000 yards of linnen from 25 to 40 cents per yard—10,000 yards of cotton & linnen stripes, & 5000 of linsey woolsey are brought to market yearly— linnen as fine as 1600. in quality has been exposed there at 1.50 yer yd fine thread is also made & sold—& some fine cloths from Merino sheep—

¹⁸³ Whiskey sold at eighty cents to one dollar per gallon in eastern Pennsylvania at that time. Walker, *Hopewell*, p. 195.

In order to aid the domestic manufactures small mills are very generally erected where cotton & wool are carded into rolls at a certain price per lb. this very much aids the farmer as his family can then spin & weave it.— cotton is already spun by water in many places, but wool & flax are not much attempted— as these are introducing into the Atlantic states they will however soon be transplanted here¹⁸⁴— the improved looms have also been introduced, some of them by water & others double looms by which one person can work 2. & 4 at a time weaving in families is very often done by women & girls— in the town of Pittsburg there are now near 50 weavers who work for the surrounding country or the town itself & it is calculated they produce upwards of 50,000 yards of different articles which are worth \$38,000. annually— the domestic or family manufactures also extend to table linnen—Bed rugs & coverlids— carpets also are very frequent the luxury of these articles in the city is now imitated in the country either by Rag carpets or strong striped stuff of linnen & wool— in some places a large checkquered linsey woolsey of handsome colors, red, black & ca were on the floors & had an appearance as neat & comfortable as a Scotch carpet—

Ship and boat building is another manufacture pursued at Pittsburg & more or less in all the towns in the Ohio and its various waters— there have been 12—Vessels for sea navigation built at Pittsburg & its vicinity several of which are now employed from Philadelphia & New York to Europe, the advantages of carrying on this manufacture were derived from the plenty of timber on the shores of the river and they were loaded with coal and various other articles which they carried down the Mississippi to New Orleans from whence they went round by sea— the building of large vessells has however been discontinued so high up the river on account of some accidents & the general difficulty of passing the rapids of the Ohio about 700 miles below Pittsburgh— these rapids or falls are dangerous from a ledge of rocks which runs across the river.— they are passable at all times for small boats, tho not without some danger & the aid of a good pilot— at seasons when the water is high they are safe for vessels of almost any size but as the seasons are not always regular unless ships arrive at the precise time when the waters are sufficiently high they must remain often for another year and some of them have met with accidents by attempting to pass without sufficient water— on this

¹⁸⁴ George Cochran established a woollen mill in 1812 at which he warranted "the color and durability of cloths equal to that imported from Great Britain." J. Jelly owned a steam cotton factory in 1815. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, pp. 139, 141.

account the building of large vessels has been discontinued above the falls but has recommenced just below them— Boats of all sizes however continue to be built at Pittsburgh, Brownsville & a variety of other places, a general assortment seems constantly on hand for the supply of Voyagers,¹⁸⁵ & it is supposed that to the value of \$20,000 is built annually— I have already described the boats, they consist of almost every size & variety from the vast rude square tub or box called Arks, to very neat & light barges for 2 or 3 persons fitted with a small house or covering in the middle for lodging working &ca— the keel boats are a species of large flat bottomed barges which are equally useful for going up as well as down the stream— Passengers purchase the various kinds they want, supply themselves with oarsmen or persons to steer who are also pilots, & after loading with goods & a proper quantity of provisions leave Pittsburg for all the ports on the waters below down to New Orleans a course of more than 2000 miles— this voyage they perform in abt.¹⁸⁶ [] days: but the return is a voyage of great toil & delay— the current of the Mississippi runs at the rate of abt. [] miles per hour and that of the Ohio at about [] miles. They are in many places assisted by sails but most generally depend on their oars—& it is altogether an object of great desire to find some means of working the boats against the stream— the introduction of steam boats has already become very general on the North river & Delaware¹⁸⁷ where boats now daily ply, without regard to wind or tide; but, as yet they are confined to passengers, & their baggage, the power necessary to propel them being lost when they are sunk to any considerable depth. they have attended with so much success & profit to the proprietor Mr Fulton that it is extremely probable some way will be discovered to improve them either by widening or extending their size so as to carry burthens with a small increase of depth or to extend the power which works them.

¹⁸⁵ After the first galley was launched in 1798, two ocean-going schooners, the *Pittsburgh* and the *Amity*, were completed in 1803. Between 1802 and 1805 three schooners, three brigs, and four ships were launched at Pittsburgh. The chief boat-builders at Pittsburgh were Eliphalet Beebe, the firm of John A. Tarescon Brothers, and James Berthaud & Company. J. E. Wright and Davis S. Corbett, *Pioneer Life in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1940), p. 194; Leland D. Baldwin, *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters* (Pittsburgh, 1941), p. 164.

¹⁸⁶ Gilpin left a blank here and also for the speed of flow of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers in the following lines.

¹⁸⁷ Within the next six years the shipyards at Pittsburgh had built four steam-boats: *New Orleans*, *Vesuvius*, *Aetna*, and *Buffalo*. Two more were being constructed in the yards. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 139.

The articles necessary to equip the boats are all made on the spot—in such a navigation, these are confined to cables, anchors,¹⁸⁸ & sails; the latter however are used to no very great extent—the lands in the western country furnish [an] abundance of Hemp & cables & ropes of all sizes are made at Pittsburgh—in Kentucky they have extended this Manufacture farther so as to send down the river considerable quantities of cordage as well as new Hemp for the Philadelphia market—Sail cloth also has been attempted & there are several manufacture[s] of it in Kentucky—where also a large quantity of bagging is made—

Paper is manufactured to some considerable extent¹⁸⁹—there is one mill on Redstone and another on Beaver creek which together manufacture to the amount of \$25 to \$30,000 annually—there are also 6 mills in Kentucky.

At Pittsburg a large corn mill has been erected to grind by steam,¹⁹⁰ the Engine of which has been made by artists at Philadelphia, & the mill altogether has cost \$15000— this manufacture is of great consequence in a two fold view not only to establish a mill for the use of the town & for manufacturing large quantities of wheat which the immense country round it will furnish in unexhaustible quantities; but it affords a model for introducing that kind of machinery¹⁹¹ which must be adopted in this country for almost every purpose not only from the scarcity of water mill seats & the extreme failure of the streams but from the universal existence of coal which will enable artists of every description to erect & pursue every kind of manufacture in any position they may chuse—

The manufactures I have enumerated constitute the principal ones at Pittsburgh but besides these there are a great number of others,

¹⁸⁸ The Pittsburgh Anvil and Anchor Factory made many of the anchors used by Commodore Oliver H. Perry on Lake Erie. The ropewalks produced for Perry two cables weighing about four thousand pounds each and measuring four and one-half inches in diameter. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 141.

¹⁸⁹ R. Patterson and Company established a steam paper mill at Pittsburgh. The first paper mill west of the mountains was at Redstone, founded in 1796 by Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless, who were reared in the neighborhood of Gilpin's Brandywine Valley paper mill. *Ibid.*, p. 139; see Note 95. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 344.

¹⁹⁰ Probably George Evans & Company, which reported the grinding of sixty thousand bushels of grain on three pairs of stones, all driven by steam. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 138.

¹⁹¹ By 1815 the Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company was building engines "on Oliver Evans' construction," Thomas Copeland "on Watt and Bolton's plan improved," and the Mississippi Steam Boat Company "on Culton's Plan." *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

which it would be impossible to enumerate— from those I have described an idea may be formed of the rapidity with which they are established & extended— the principles on which they are founded become still more favorable as we advance to the westward as the price of carriage & difficulty of supply for all foreign articles still increase in the states of Kentucky & Ohio. the distance from the Atlantic States is so great that all articles are brought there at a cost which excites every attempt to supply them at home, accordingly, they are prodigiously extended in both those states.— there exists at present no statistical work which exhibits their number or the kinds introduced—but as these states possess many minerals and a soil which furnishes every vegetable production, there is scarce any manufacture of necessary articles which is not more [or] less attempted, the extension & improvement of them, is made so rapidly as to baffle every attempt to describe them & they bid fair not only to supply their own inhabitants but in a few years to become a vast store house from whence, supplies of manufactured articles will be conveyed down the Mississippi for the supply of other countries—

Having given this account of the history, situation, trade & manufactures of Pittsburgh I shall close this digression from our Journal by a description of the town itself & its present population—

I have already mentioned that the first occupation of it by European settlers was the building of Fort Du Quesne in [1754]— this fort was at the utmost extremity of the point or termination of the plain where the Ohio & Alleganey unite, & was probably fixed upon to give at once the most immediate view & access to all the three rivers, and to have [as] small an extent of fortification as possible exposed to an enemy on the land; this fort was small and must have been chiefly built of earth & logs as very little of it remains; indeed the short period it was possessed by the French did not admit of its being much improved— the bank along the river is nearly a precipice of abt. 20 feet high, but as it is composed of a loose sandy soil it is continually washed away by the freshes of the Alleganey & Ohio.— a considerable part of the scite of Fort Du Quesne has already been undermined & carried off in this way, & the waters bid fair in time to encroach on every side of the town, unless the banks are strengthened by walls, quays, or other artificial means—

After the capture of Fort Du Quesne Fort Pitt was erected by the British, which was laid out at a greater distance from the immediate point or extremity, which however was all comprehended in it[,] it was a large and regular work comprehending a considerable space of

ground—the ramparts extending across the peninsula from the Alleganey to the Ohio—the walls were faced with brick—and the barracks, & other buildings were also of brick, it was a large & regular work and is said to have cost the British Government upwards of £60,000. Stg.—the ditches extended to the Alleganey so as to be filled with water, and it was in all respects a large, strong, & regular fortress, where a garrison was kept until the revolutionary war

The residue of the plain was doubtless originally in woods, nor does it appear that much of it was cleared by the French—the English however cleared a large part of it, & orchards & gardens were planted outside the Fort to considerable extent—indeed the period from 1758 when the British took it to 1775. when they abandoned [it] admitted of considerable improvement—it is said that ab. 200 families were settled here in 1760 but that they were forced to abandon it on account of the Indian war—in 1765. a town was laid out¹⁹² but I do not find it mentioned by whom or to what extent, nor does it appear many houses were maintained outside the Fort,— by what means the colonists or people of Pennsylvania became possessed of it at the commencement of the revolution I am not informed¹⁹³— it is probable however that the British garrison was withdrawn into Canada, as those stationed in other places were generally concentrated either there or at Boston in 1744.— during the revolutionary war the garrison was maintained, by the provincial or continental troops, and the danger from the Indians was such that few inhabitants resided outside the fort itself— at what period the Penn family surveyed it¹⁹⁴ I am not informed, but it was comprized in one of the Manors appropriated to themselves which species of property was reserved to them, when

¹⁹² The village was rebuilt after the war according to a plan drawn by Colonel John Campbell. Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, p. 140.

¹⁹³ In July, 1775, Fort Pitt was garrisoned by a small militia force in the name of Virginia. At that time Colonel John Connolly disbanded the militia and went to Virginia to plot the recapture of Fort Pitt for the British. The plot failed and Connolly was arrested at Hagerstown, Maryland, in November. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

¹⁹⁴ The area which included Pittsburgh was a part of a purchase from the Iroquois in 1754; but, because the Delawares and Shawnees were not paid, they refused to recognize the purchase and attacked the settlers in the area. The "Manor of Pittsburgh" was surveyed first in 1769 and later for the purpose of the sale of lots by the Penn family in 1784. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 147; letter from General William Irvine to George Washington, April 20, 1792, quoted in Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 80-81; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, IV (1895), included a foldout map of the "Manor of Pittsburgh."

the province was assumed by the Government of Pennsylvania¹⁹⁵ in [1779].— after the peace of 1783. the inhabitants appear to have considerably increased, but still under the protection of the Fort, where a garrison was maintained until the treaty of Greenville in 1795.— in 1784. the present town was laid out, by George Woods as Surveyor under the direction of Tench Francis Esq^r¹⁹⁶ as agent for the Penn family and the Lots were sold generally at small prices— since that period but particularly since 1795—the town has most rapidly increased & now the Lots are nearly as high as in Philadelphia itself— some of the original purchasers of Lots, have made large fortunes from them alone—

At present the town contains 500 houses and 3000. inhabitants— the greatest part of the houses are of brick or stone and in general it is more compactly built than most towns at a distance of the metropolis— some of the streets contain several blocks of handsome houses built in the Philadelphia manner— the street on the Monongahela is beautifully open to the river and opposite shore there being no houses on the Bank side— the sweep of the town already built is generally towards this river— but the distance between the rivers not being great, it already fills and probably will fill up more compactly than most other towns, as it extends from the point, towards the upper part of the plain where it becomes more wide from river to river— as it advances however the population will extend along the Alleganey—the plain extending along that river for near two miles while on the Monongahela it is closed within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the point by high hills—

There are a number of public buildings in the town—particularly a large Court house—Jail—Markett house—an Episcopal—Roman Catholic[—]Presbyterian—Lutheran—& several other Churches all of brick—a public Bank—& several other buildings—

The situation of Pittsburgh appears to be decidedly healthy, & tho there are very heavy fogs on the rivers, they do not appear to be of that noxious quality which fogs raising from low & stagnant situations possess—probably the continual current & extreme clearness of the waters especially of the Alleganey and the high hills around con-

¹⁹⁵ The Pennsylvania Assembly passed the Divesting Act in 1779, which placed unsurveyed and unappropriated lands in the hands of the Commonwealth. However, the proprietary manors and private estates of the Penns were guaranteed to them. In addition the sum of £130,000 sterling was to be paid to the heirs of Thomas and Richard Penn. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 184-85.

¹⁹⁶ Gilpin had previously mentioned Philadelphia banker Tench Francis as builder of the Conewago Falls Canal on the Susquehanna River. See Note 26.

tribute to the salubrity of the air— the winter is said not to be so rigorous as at Philadelphia nor the Snows to lay so long—fevers are not unusually prevalant here— the diseases of the country seem to be more of the Rheumatic kind— those frightful excressences of the glands of the throat & neck called Goitures prevail very much especially among the women— as yet the cause of them is undiscovered & they are attributed to the water, which may be and probably is the cause as whether from wells, springs, or rivers it passes thro and imbibes the qualities of the coal, sulphur, alum & other substances with which the country universally abounds—

PART FOUR

Pittsburgh to Bedford via Indiana County

October 1 to October 11

Octo^r. 1st. We left Pittsburgh ab^t. 10. OClock— the road is level for 2 or 3 miles extending on the bank of the Alleganey, tho at too great a distance for the surface to be seen— in about 4 miles we have again mounted the hills & find ourselves in the same kind of country we have so long been in, but the hills more abrupt, and vallies not so uniformly fertile or improved, as the Redstone district but altogether a very beautiful broken Country— ab^t. 9 miles from Pittsburgh we pass the field of battle where Braddock was defeated in [1755] it is now a farm belonging to a M^r Wallace,¹⁹⁷ in ploughing the fields a number of bones—broken arms & all the relics of defeat are still found— we soon after reached Turtle Creek, to which we descended by a very steep road & ascended again with no small difficulty— it is said this piece of road is one of the worst between Phila. & Pittsburgh— This Creek is a very pretty lively stream which falls into the Monongahela 2 or 3 miles below the road & has on it several mills— the lands in the vicinity of Turtle Creek appear very good with fine bottoms for meadows— after ascending the hills we had a fine broken country as to prospect & some excellent farms, but in general the country is of a bolder cast than the Redstone district— Coal & limestone [are] still plentiful & indeed all the strata [are] the same as Redstone—

We baited [at] a small Inn—kept by one []¹⁹⁸ [] miles from Pittsburgh— the landlord tells me that good lands are worth ab^t. \$10— others go down to a very low price—the country being far more unequal than over the Youghhiogeny— at 22 [miles] from Pittsburg we reached

¹⁹⁷ George Wallace was a director of the Office of Discount and Deposit of the Bank of Pennsylvania, but did not live in Pittsburgh. Perhaps this was a part of his land in 1809. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 243; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁸ Gilpin apparently forgot or failed to learn the name of this innkeeper. In 1792 this was Thompson's Inn, the first post stop twelve miles east of Pittsburgh. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 152.

Stewarts tavern¹⁹⁹ a tolerable country Inn— in the morning we found ourselves in a most delightful picturesque situation but indeed our prospects have always been so rich & varied—that we are almost satiated with the continued tho varied beauties of a perpetual fine landscape—

We find that our expenses at Pittsburgh combining—purchases—repairs—&c has so broken in on our plan of putting them down daily, that we must omit it— indeed the uniformity of our system—& of the charges at the Inns are such as to make it almost unnecessary for the object of shewing the prices of the country, for the charges have been almost every where invariably the same—

Octo. 2 d—From Stewarts to Greensburg 8 m— We left Stewarts early —& have the same fine broken country with a tolerable road— much of it lay on ridges however which were rather poor— being on the high road we have now Waggon again from Philadelphia almost without number— as we approach Greensburgh—the country becomes very beautiful—the soil rich & the farms finely cultivated— the town itself stands on a hill in the center of a beautiful Valley with a fine expanse of meadow around it—

This town was founded in [1785] & in 1799 when Westmoreland County which formerly comprehended nearly all the western parts of the state was divided into several counties it was made a borough & the seat of Justice of Westmoreland as abridged— it consists of abt. 150 houses—

We found the Supreme court sitting here & a number of our friends, particularly Judge Yeates²⁰⁰—& councellors J. Ross—Woods Armstrong, Semple, & Wilkins²⁰¹— as Judge Young²⁰² whom it was our object

¹⁹⁹ Stewarts Tavern was near Jeannette. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 75.

²⁰⁰ Gilpin had seen Judge Jasper Yeates earlier at Pittsburgh. See Note 130.

²⁰¹ Gilpin had previously conferred at Pittsburgh with James Ross, John Woods, and William Wilkins. See Notes 129, 134, and 136. Lawyers Armstrong and Semple are more difficult to identify. James Armstrong was a prominent citizen of Plum Township, Allegheny County, but Gilpin does not give any information about the residence of this attorney. There were several men of the Semple Family active in the governments of western Pennsylvania. David Semple secured a grant of 300 acres of land in Westmoreland County in 1788; Colonel William Semple was a Pittsburgh sympathizer of the Whiskey Rebels; Steele Semple was a prominent Pittsburgh Federalist; and James Semple was the second sheriff of Allegheny County and served two terms in the State legislature. Cushing, *History of Allegheny County*, I, 413; II, 337; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI (1897), 507. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 84; Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh, 1939), p. 171; Russell J. Ferguson, *Early Western Pennsylvania Politics* (Pittsburgh, 1938), pp. 147, 226.

²⁰² John Young, a representative from Westmoreland County, on September 7, 1791, was elected secretary of the Pittsburgh meeting of delegates from Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Allegheny counties to consider "an act of Congress, laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 16-17.

particularly to see lives 11½ Miles from the town, we sat down to dinner with the Judges & Bar—& were soon joined by Judge Young who had heard of our coming & came into to see us— after dinner we went to his house in the country which we found a very neat stone house seated in a valley—the house neatly furnished—M^{rs} Young a pleasant genteel woman—& at night we had the comfort of an excellent bed—which was no small one after so long depending on those at Inns—

We found nothing particular to remark—respecting the land or farm our friend the Judge being President of the 10th district²⁰³ which comprizes 5 counties finds so much employment in his office, and in his studies that he does not assume the care of more land than comprizes, garden, meadows & a few fields merely for his family use— he has free stone, coal, & limestone however as usual to the country

Octo^r. 3. In the morning the Judge & myself rode on horseback to Greensburgh— Henry with one of the Servants took it on foot— the Judges object was to collect a few friends to dine with us—mine to make preparations for our journey northward to our lands— at Greensburgh we again saw our friends— I also met with Gen^l Campbell²⁰⁴ whom I had formerly known & [who] lives on the Black Lick²⁰⁵ abt. 22 miles northward— he gave us a kind invitation to his house on the way which I readily accepted as we were now going on an expedition in which very indifferent accommodations were to be expected— I also met here with W Young²⁰⁶ a paper maker & our neighbour on

²⁰³ In 1809 Young was president of the Court of Common Pleas for the 10th District of Pennsylvania, counties of Somerset, Cambria, Indiana, Armstrong, and Westmoreland. He owned about 420 acres of land in Indiana County, which has a Young Township named for the Judge. *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, pp. 98-99; George P. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania, A History* (New York, 1926), IV, 1890; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 528, 677.

²⁰⁴ The title of general was apparently honorary but Colonel Charles Campbell had for many years been an important military figure in western Pennsylvania. From 1790 to 1800 he was brigade inspector for Westmoreland County. He had been a ranger during the Revolution. In 1809 he resided in Blacklick Township, Indiana County. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, pp. 566, 579, 605-606, 626-27, 630, 634; Sixth Series (Harrisburg, 1906-1907), V, 645-826; Thomas Lynch Montgomery (ed.), *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1916), II, 350-51; Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh, 1940), pp. 256, 258; U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Blacklick Township, p. 60.

²⁰⁵ Blacklick Creek is a branch of the Conemaugh River in Indiana County.

²⁰⁶ William Young was the owner of a paper mill on the White Clay Creek, a branch of the Brandywine. Gilpin was a partner in the Gilpin and Fisher Paper Mill on the main branch of the Brandywine. William Young also was a part of the firm of Wm. Young, Son & Company, manufacturers of woolen and cotton on the Brandywine. He secured over seven hundred acres of Westmoreland County

the Brandywine, who has some lands beyond ours & had come thro the whole country we were to pass—so that from him I could get a great deal of information— he returned to dinner with us as did also two ladies who were friends of Judge Youngs— after dinner we were joined by Mr Semple a lawyer & Mrs Armstrong a very nice lady who came to see Mary—

Octo. 4.*—We left the Judges & came to Greensburg in the morning, the Judge having kindly undertaken to accompany us on our expedition to our lands which is a kind of embarkation on a new voyage even from hence, and as good accommodations were scarcely to be expected we had to lay in a little stock of liquors & other necessities—we did not leave Greensburgh till 12 OClock rather late in the day for what we had to go thro— we soon found the country tho of the same character as for soil & appearance more wild & less settled— at about 4 miles we reached Hannahs town²⁰⁷ formerly the seat of Justice of Westmoreland County when Justice must have been more simply accommodated than at present— it consists now of only about 20 log huts of the most miserable construction & appearance— this town if it may so be called for it is the most miserable we have seen bearing the name, tho formerly the high road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg²⁰⁸ ran thro it was dreadfully exposed to Indian warfare in the year [1782] while the Court was sitting here the Indians broke in upon it and had nearly taken the whole Judiciary who with a part of the inhabitants escaped into a small fort while the rest were killed scalped or carried away as prisoners & the houses burnt²⁰⁹

We passed from hence about 6 miles when we forded the Loyal-

* A mistake. This continues the journal for October 3.

²⁰⁷ Hannastown was the first county seat of Westmoreland County. County administration was moved to Greensburg in 1787. On May 16, 1775, at a meeting at Hannastown, the delegates agree "to maintain and defend our rights" against the "wicked ministry and a corrupt Parliament." Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, pp. 149, 179.

²⁰⁸ This town was on the old Forbes Road, but most travel in 1809 was following the new road to Pittsburgh which was farther south and ran through Greensburg. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁰⁹ The Indian raid on Hannastown was led by the Mingo chief, Guyasuta, and John Connolly, who had escaped imprisonment a year earlier and was commanding a small group of Canadians. *Ibid.*, p. 198; see Note 193; Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 159-60.

land in 1788 and 1794. "List of Mills on Brandywine and other creeks," manuscript in the handwriting of E. I. duPont in the manuscript files of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, p. 527; Henry S. Canby, *The Brandywine* (New York, 1941), p. 136.

hannon a pretty stream of ab^t. 20 yards wide & on the opposite bank found another small town called Dennistons town after a family of that name who have here a fine Mill²¹⁰ built of freestone— the town itself consists of perhaps 30 houses chiefly log ones— here we found an indifferent Inn to bait & had one of our customary dinners of bread & butter milk eggs & cheese—

Here we were joined by Gen^l Campbell who had gone thus far before us and stopped to see two of his daughters who are married to Dennistons & live here— we had now 12 miles to go chiefly thro entire forests with a very hilly broken road— however we had the Judge & General of the district to escort us, both of whom knew the road so perfectly as to allay all our fears— after about 5 miles we came to a small miserable log tavern where we had half an inclination to stay as it grew near dark— however knowing we should fare very illy here and excellently at the Generals we concluded to go on & soon after for the first time on our journey lighted our lamps which I had attached to our carriage for fear of such an adventure & they served us most admirably— the Judge having a light white coatee & the general a white horse rode before & gave us the general direction of the road while the lamps warned us of our immediate obstacles such as stones, ruts, stumps, & logs which we had in good number— at ab^t 3 miles we forded the Conemaugh a considerable stream tho now very low—& soon after the Black lick creek a lesser stream— we were obliged often to get out of our carriage, descending the hills, however at length we reached in safety the Generals house which is on the Black lick & soon found ourselves repaid for our perseverance by his kind & agreeable family

We found here an excellent frame house with plenty of rooms & every thing very neat & comfortable— it is true the rooms were likely to be filled as we found at least half a dozen persons who like ourselves had availed ourselves [themselves] of the Generals hospitality to find a lodging for the night

We found the Generals a most amiable & kind family M^{rs} Campbell a large but very handsome woman tho the mother of 16 children 12

²¹⁰ The Deniston Family secured about one thousand acres and built Deniston's Mill on Loyalhanna Creek near the present town of New Alexandria. In 1792 Colonel Charles Campbell wrote to Governor Thomas Mifflin, "Mr. John Deneston is to furnish the Militia the same as Last Year with Rations." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 606; Third Series, XXVI, 420, 422, 424-25; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792; "Journal of Samuel Maclay," in Harpster, *Pen Pictures*, p. 218.

of whom are alive & most of them married in this country she is also a woman of great management not only in the education of her children which is conducted far beyond what could be expected in a country like the present but in the conduct of her husbands estate—Gen^l Campbell possesses here a farm of 600 acres with a corn & saw mills & distillery, he has also large landed property in the neighbourhood and elsewhere which together with his public employments take him much from home so that the business of his farm & family devolve chiefly on M^{rs} Campbell and are conducted so as in no degree to suffer by his absence or diminish the hospitality of his house which in this wild country destitute of good Inns seems destined to supply their place— Miss Jane his daughter came into the room soon after & we were surprized to find a young lady of 18 very beautiful, with the fine form & complexion of an English woman & in dress & manners more suited to the standard of Philadelphia than of these western forests, a nice & excellent supper was soon served & the General regaled us with some of his own fine peach brandy instead of wine, which is now seldom furnished or indeed used in these parts whiskey made of rye or apples being the general drink & distilling it as general an employment.

A stranger is surprized at the number of Generals, Colonels, & other military officers he meets here, indeed almost every man of respectability bears or has borne some commission. this is not alone in the present militia of the state, but has arisen partly from the settlers being nearly all Irish celtics²¹¹ native or by extraction who seem naturally soldiers, but more from the long period which this was a frontier country exposed to the Indians with whom the inhabitants kept up continual warfare— a few thin & scattered settlements had been just begun, while Pennsylvania was an English colony when the war of the revolution broke out in 1775. & the Indians taking part with the British, & supported from Canada continued a general warfare from that period to the peace of 1783. after which they supported the war themselves down to the year 1794. so that for near 20 years there existed perpetual hostility between them & the settlers. it was during this period that each settler of any distinction became engaged in hostilities and General Campbell was formed a soldier during this period— M^{rs} Campbell mentioned to us that when a young man in 1777. he with a brother & four others being out on one of those small parties, by which the war was chiefly conducted were surprized at night

²¹¹ *I.e.*, Scotch-Irish.

in a house in the neighbourhood to which they had retired for shelter by a party of Canadians & Indians, who spared their lives but took them prisoners to Fort Detroit,²¹² near 300 miles thro the woods, where the Indians were prevailed on to give them up to the English who after some time sent them to Quebec & exchanging them they came round by sea from there to Philadelphia—

Octo 4. We left the Generals hospitable manner after breakfast & with our friend the Judge went on to Indiana²¹³— after mounting a steep hill from his house we found a good road²¹⁴—tho almost wholly thro an unsettled forest, our course being nearly along Two lick creek which meandered at some distance to our right— for 3 or 4 of the first miles we found the land very good, and no where bad—the whole bearing lofty fine timber with little underwood and chiefly white oak—the general accompaniment of a strong if not very rich soil— twelve miles & about four hours brought us to Indiana which we found situated on an open bushy plain of considerable extent which gives an air of civilization beyond the gloom of forests— we found the town altogether new in its appearance, however so far as it had proceeded neat & decent— a large brick Court House now building stands in the center & at some distance a neat stone Jail—near the Court house a large neat frame house, boarded on the outside & painted white— this was the residence of the Sheriff²¹⁵ & also of a Mr Denniston²¹⁶ who married a daughter of Gen^l Campbells & keeps a store— the rest of the buildings are of logs but neat & of the best kind— in all there are 22 families settled here— we soon found ourselves at a very decent Inn—a log house to be sure but two stories, & we arranged with our landlady²¹⁷ for a very neat room & two good beds. the Judge also have one adjoining— we also got an excellent dinner, by far the best beef since we had left home & altogether found ourselves very comfortably fixed—

²¹² An account of the capture of Charles Campbell has been retold by Montgomery, *Frontier Forts*, II, 350-51.

²¹³ The new town of Indiana had been created to become the county seat of the newly organized Indiana County. Today it is the location of Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

²¹⁴ This is the approximate route of the modern U. S. 119.

²¹⁵ Thomas McCartney was a resident of Indiana town, Center Township, Indiana County, in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Center Township, p. 68.

²¹⁶ John Deniston was a resident of Indiana town in 1810. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²¹⁷ Gilpin later identified the innkeeper by the name of Shryock. Henry Shryock was a resident of Indiana town in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Washington Township, p. 79.

our landlord also furnishing a glass of wine which tho not good, was a luxury in this kind of woods & whiskey—

Our carriage being the first that had ever made its appearance in these parts where even a cart or waggon is rare excited no small curiosity to the inhabitants & no less to a Mr & Mrs Stokes²¹⁸ a gentleman & lady from Philadelphia who were travelling on horseback thro this country & on sight of our carriage at the door were astonished how it ever could get here— they had come in a chais[e]²¹⁹ within about 80 miles on the Huntingdon road²²⁰ but there found it absolutely impossible to proceed any further & took to their horses to proceed to Kittanning²²¹ & thence to Pittsburg— tho I had but little acquaintance with them at home & Mary none, the pleasure of meeting with two fellow Citizens induced them to stay all night—

The toil of travelling, walking up hills & rough roads now for [] days during which we had a hot mid day sun had indisposed me so much that I was obliged to lay by the residue of the present day & pay some attention to my health & repose especially as my business required a prolongation of toil— Mary & Henry, light & as active as deer, seem to feel nothing but enjoyment & have never suffered for a moment even fatigue to complain of—

Octo 5th—I had a light fever to day which obliged me to keep home altogether, however it was spent in looking over papers, preparations to go on our lands, and a continual repetition of visits; this being one of Judge Youngs counties where he holds the courts quarterly, & he having acted as our agent, most persons great and little came to pay us their respects & his Zeal to make me acquainted with the country generally induced him to hunt up all persons who lived in the town or came from the country in the course of the day; we had therefore the Sheriff McCartney, son of Joseph McCartney²²² who is also one

²¹⁸ James Stokes secured 400 acres of land in Huntingdon County in 1794. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV (1897), 766.

²¹⁹ Chaise, or light carriage.

²²⁰ Huntingdon is on U. S. 22 east of Indiana.

²²¹ Kittanning, twenty-eight miles west of Indiana, is on the Allegheny River. It had formerly been a stronghold of the Indians of western Pennsylvania.

²²² Joseph McCartney was one of the earliest settlers in Indiana County, locating near the future site of the town of Indiana. He secured title to 300 acres in 1773 and 200 in 1785. In 1810 he resided in Wheatfield Township near the village of Armagh. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, pp. 465, 468. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 74.

of our agents—Mr Clarke²²³—the County Commissioner—Gen^l. McComb²²⁴—a member of the Legislature Doc^r. Hayes,²²⁵ Physician of the town Mr Riddle²²⁶ the Attorney—Alex^r. Taylor²²⁷ the County Surveyor, ————— Allison²²⁸ formerly surveyor with many others whom I do not recollect— several of our Tenants also came in—& altogether it was a busy day—

I find the town of Indiana extremely convenient to our lands.—tho not central to them— the county of the same name was taken from Westmoreland & made a new county only in [1803]— by the Act of Assembly for forming it the town was to be as near the actual center of the county as a proper situation could be found.— this center is about 4 miles from hence on our lands where also a more eligible situation offers itself—but the scite was left to the determination of Commissioners in the county who like all were swayed by partialities & their own interests— it seemed to suit them better to place it here, & Mr Clymer²²⁹ of Philadelphia who owns a small body of lands gave 250. Acres for the town, which the Commissioners divided into lots & sold for as much altogether as 7 or \$8000.— I trust the object is

²²³ William Clarke, was county commissioner from 1806 to 1809 and 1820 to 1822. It is possible that this was William Clark who is mentioned later in the *Journal*. See note 255.

²²⁴ James McComb secured 178 acres of land in Westmoreland County in 1785. He resided on this same land, which had meanwhile become a part of Blacklick Township of Indiana County, in 1810. There was also an extensive tract of land in Oil Creek Township, Crawford County, called the "McComb Tract." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 469; U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Blacklick Township, p. 63; Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1811.

²²⁵ The 1810 census taker identified a resident of Blacklick Township as Samuel Haise. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Blacklick Township, p. 62.

²²⁶ William Riddle was a resident of Washington Township, Indiana County, in 1810. John Riddle had been an early settler in the area. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Washington Township, p. 80; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 495.

²²⁷ Alexander Taylor was a resident of Center Township, Indiana County, near Indiana town in 1810. John Taylor lived a little farther away in Blacklick Township. Alexander had patented 150 acres of Indiana County land in 1805. John was an earlier and larger landowner. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Center and Blacklick Townships, pp. 61, 67. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 514-17, 676.

²²⁸ Thomas Allison patented 457 acres of Indiana County land in 1811 and 1813. Other members of the family who also resided in Center Township of that County were Robert, John, John J., and Andrew. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 663; U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Center Township, pp. 66, 67.

²²⁹ George Clymer presented 250 acres of land for the establishment of the county seat in 1805. The name Clymer is preserved in the name of a town northeast of Indiana about nine miles. Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 378.

worth the sacrifice of the land especially as we must derive the benefit of improvement if the town becomes populous—& we have pretty much the choice of the country to establish another town within any moderate distance—

That part of Gilpin & Fishers²³⁰ lands which lies in Indiana County, consists of a number of different bodies of 1000. to 4000 acres, each separated from each other but not very distant, being scattered over the county, a few of them 5 or 6 miles to the westward.—but mostly to the eastward— they were originally surveyed in such distinct parcells & of irregular shapes in order to include good land and to exclude that of inferior quality which has since been surveyed by others so as to fill up all the intervening spaces & the residue of the county among a great variety of persons— the whole of the different parcells of ours comprize about 20,000 Acres— all of the parcells are subdivided into tracts of 300 Acres each, such being the quantity limited to each grant or patent— the nearest of the lands are abt. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the town of Indiana²³¹—the most distant abt. 15 miles²³²— but they lay mostly within 7 miles as they form a kind of rude Crescent in their general form— it was among the objects in taking them up to place them on the smaller streams of head waters both of the Allegany river & of the Susquehanna in order to include bottoms or meadow ground which usually lay at the sources of those waters— they accordingly—comprize the heads of Crooked Creek—Two lick Creek & Yellow Creek head branches of the Allegany river and—the heads of the main western branch of Susquehanna— the lands generally may be fully seen on Howells map of Pennsylvania, where they are called Fishers as also Barclay,²³³ which is erroneous.—Robert Barclay, lands for which this was intended being in another quarter—

²³⁰ Gilpin and Fisher lands are shown on Reading Howell's 1792 map in nine separate tracts in Indiana County and are called Fishers. Joshua Gilpin secured a grant for 300 acres in Indiana County in 1795. Other Gilpin patents for 2,300 acres are listed. Fisher grants of 3,662 acres are listed in the names of Thomas, Miers, Samuel, William, James, Joseph, George, John, Abel, and Matthew Fisher. There may have been others. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 428-34, 438. Elizabeth Drinker shows a tie among Thomas Gilpin and Thomas, Samuel, and Miers Fisher during the Revolutionary War. Henry D. Biddle (ed.), *Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker* (Philadelphia, 1889), p. 46.

²³¹ This area was west of the town. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

²³² This tract was in the northeast corner of Indiana County of the headwaters of the Susquehanna River. *Ibid.*

²³³ John, Samuel, and Thomas Barclay acquired 1,910½ acres of Indiana County land in 1794. Apparently Robert Barclay had secured an earlier grant. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, 401; XXVI, 394.

These lands were mostly obtained in consequence of discoveries made by officers who served in the old wars with the French & Indians and were surveyed for T Gilpin²³⁴ & T S & M Fisher²³⁵ under the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1773—most of the grants for them being completed before the Revolution & the rest since by patent—the settlement of them was retarded by the Indian wars until the peace of [Greenville] since which also the immense quantity of lands offered to settlers in very part of the United States has drawn them off to other quarters so that even with the thin population established here I find a rage for leaving improvements just beginning to repay the toil of those who made them in order to go down the Ohio.

In general any person who chuses goes upon the lands he finds vacant, & there begins an improvement, by building a house where every thing is of logs the chimney not excepted. & the roof formed of split pieces like staves—kept down by logs placed on the outside— this rude shelter from the weather which has frequently not a particle of iron in its whole composition is the work of a few days and the settlers assist each other— the Trees are then girdled round that is the bark cut so as to prevent the sap rising, by which the trees soon die—the underwood is then cleared & burnt and the ground rudely ploughed & the grain sown— a fence is put round to defend it—by the time it rises & in this manner the settler goes on to clear acre after acre—cutting & burning out the dead timber at his leisure— a rude barn is then built in the same manner as the house & this constitutes the settlement for the first year or two the subsistence from the farm is scanty, but the game with which the woods abound, assists the settler who is a hunter as well as farmer—where the lands are heavily timbered—a great deal of underwood—stony—hilly or poor.—the settlement of course goes on heavily, but rapidly where the lands are good & the settler in a few years has around him 50 or more acres of good farming land—a part of which is mostly meadow for his stock—abt 50 to 60 acres thus cleared compose a settlement on which a family subsists comfortably— in the mean time the settler always presumes he is on the land or a tract belonging to another, which indeed he knows by the boundaries in the wood, but he knows this to be in

²³⁴ Thomas Gilpin was Joshua's father who died in 1778. But Joshua also had a brother Thomas who had been active in the management of the western lands. Several subsequent references in this *Journal* tell of a trip by the younger Thomas in 1801 to supervise settlement on the lands. Gray, *National Waterway*, pp. 1-6.

²³⁵ The Gilpin and Fisher families were partners in a paper mill on the Brandywine River. See Note 206.

most instances easily settled— when the owner is found he usually gives a lease of 7. to 10 years commencing with the improvement—for having them made as I have described— at the expiration of which time a rent is fixed or further improvements are to be done for a further term— the improvements however whether under lease or not are a kind of saleable property, among the settlers—he who removes selling it to another subject to all the conditions of a lease if he has one or if he has not to such conditions as the owner of the soil may require—

The settlement of lands is undoubtedly desirable to the holders provided the Tenants are good & industrious, but so many occur of other characters that it is often a great injury—as after clearing lands, they neglect them when they grow up so thick with young timber, that they are more difficult for to grub & clear a second time than at first.

The great inconvenience of holding lands is the heavy interest of their cost and the taxes— where they are in situations which improve rapidly, they soon afford vast fortunes to their owners— but such immense quantities are now held by speculators at a distance & especially in the Atlantic cities—who will not sell them but on high Terms—that settlers are driven to distant districts, because they cannot buy them near—so that a great portion of the state is retarded in its improvement— in the mean time the actual inhabitants of the country composed in a great degree of foreigners—mostly Irish among whom the spirit of democratic equality is almost universal view the lands held by strangers or as they Term them Gentlemans lands with jealousy, & having most of the county offices in their hands they assess and tax them for county, rates, roads &c without mercy— agents in the country are so much of the same sentiment or so timid of losing the favor of their neighbours that they either cannot or will not interest themselves to have justice done to the proprietors.

These are the disadvantages attending back lands generally so called— undoubtedly many of the largest fortunes in the state have been acquired by taking up lands and leaving them for improvement by the gradual rise of the country, but this was more easily accomplished formerly than now, still it is perhaps an eligible mode of providing for a young family provided the loss of capital can be borne, but as a speculation every thing consists in the choice of the land— there is much which for its retention & goodness must become of great value— while on the other hand there are millions of acres even in Pennsylvania which are either among the barren rocks & precipices of its mountains so as to be almost useless for ages, or covered many times over by dif-

ferent surveys in which after endless litigation & perhaps all the owners paying taxes for the same lands, one title may subvert the rest & find little to repay the toil & expense it has cost. in the mean time, as all these vast mountains have been surveyed—the possessor of the surveyor charts and of the grants of the state all duly authentic, indulges in full security the prospect of his future wealth, from the increase of his numerous acres.

If any lands in the state are unexceptionable on these points which have embarrassed others—those of Gilpin & Fishers are— their titles and boundaries are most unquestionable, and from their being surveyed the earliest in this district after its purchase from the Indians, not only the best lands in the country were chosen, but there can be no future interference of other surveys to their disadvantage as all others are of a younger date— the lands are also selected along the middle or dividing country between the eastern & western waters so as to command the market of both.

The circumstances which besides the Indian war have retarded the improvement of these lands are chiefly these.

1. The want of good leading roads thro the country—the great road²³⁶ thro the state passing too far southward—
2. The want of mills to grind their produce—
3. The rage for going down the Ohio—
4. The lands being held in large bodies by distant owners who will not dispose of them & take little pains to lease or improve them—

The mass of population in this country has been hitherto so small as to be unable to obtain sufficient influence in the legislature to obtain sufficient funds for roads in that their grants have been chiefly absorbed by those who are interested in the lower or Bedford road— The citizens of Philadelphia however perceiving the tendency of this south road to draw the produce of the State to Baltimore have given their interest to a road which takes a more northern route & will run thro these lands.— indeed this road from Franks town²³⁷ to Ebensburg [*sic*]—Indiana & Kittaning is already laid out, but it wants improvement.

The other inconveniences must be remedied by the owners of the lands—mills should be built by them, for in dry seasons, the people

²³⁶ This reference is to the post road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh via Bedford.

²³⁷ Frankstown was an early settlement on the western branch of the Juniata River. It is a few miles southeast of Altoona and twenty miles east of Ebensburg, the seat of Cambria County.

have had to travel 30 miles to grind their corn— Iron works should also be erected—as the want of the settlers is great— the price of iron which is chiefly brought on packhorses from a distance is very great.— the settlers must be retained from going down the Ohio by giving them good lands at a moderate rate—

Undoubtedly the best means to improve a body of lands like those of G & F, is for one of the owners to reside on them—the attention being sufficient for any one person— good tenants, settlers, or rules can only be effected to purpose by an actual owner— agents may take care to pay the taxes, & prevent any material infringement as to the owners rights—but they have in general lands to settle themselves & the improvement of distant owners proceed slowly under their management— it is however the only method to be adopted where the party cannot attend in person: the utmost advantage however occurs even in this case from an owner frequently renewing his visits as indeed I have already found from the present visit—the presence of an owner giving a degree of interest to all persons concerned as well as to the country in general which no agent can impart, and which also tends to do away that neglect & imposition which the residents have for persons who are always absent & unknown—

If owners cannot attend to their property they must rest wholly on the conduct of an agent & very much to chance as to all the material circumstances of taxes, improvement & possession.

Gilpin & Fishers lands tho not visited so often as their interests require have yet been better attended to than almost any others, the visit of T Gilpin in 1801. whose attention went far beyond that of perhaps any other owner of distant lands by personally surveying and fixing their boundaries & establishing a general personal knowledge with almost every person of respectability in the country has given them a degree of stability which few others possess— they are accordingly considered as the most important body of lands in the county— are assessed perhaps with less imposition than any others, & the Judge of the district & father of the Sheriff taking the agency upon them has contributed in no small degree to their advantage & security—so that perhaps no lands not immediately attended to by their owners can be in a better situation

There is however wanting a more active agent, who under the advice of those already existing will undertake the immediate object of letting the lands to settlers, and overlooking them while leased— to procure such an agency was one of the most important objects of my visit— I had the misfortune however to find the only person whom Judge Young

thinks qualified for the business a Mr Daniel Staunard²³⁸ an industrious attorney at Indiana very ill of a bilious fever which prevented my seeing him,

Besides this the objects of my journey was to obtain a general knowledge of the country—of the quality, situation, and value of the lands—of the Tenants upon them—of the best means of improving them & to renew the intimacy of my brother with the people of the country— as to personally investigating every tract it was neither necessary nor practicable but with much more time & previous preparation than I had allotted for it or indeed than the season would now admit—

Octo^r. 6. I found myself so well recovered that early this morning Judge Young and myself devoted the day on horseback to visit the lands— we took with us one Parker²³⁹ for a guide, he is an Irishman settled some years in Indiana & keeps a store but deals particularly in Furrs & is himself occasionally a hunter— the road from Indiana to Mahoning²⁴⁰ passing thro our lands on Crooked Creek Mary & Henry went with us in the Carriage to the nearest tenant—W^m McHenry²⁴¹ who leased a tract of T Gilpin in 1801. on which he has made a beautiful improvement of about 50 acres nearly half meadow, which for the quantity is as handsome a farm as to be found any where and would bring \$50. per Ann rent— Mary & Henry returned from hence the route not permitting the carriage to go farther—McHenry & others joining as we pursued our visits & saw nearly all the Crooked Creek lands— there are upon them [] tenants, who have each improvements

²³⁸ Daniel Stanard was a resident of Indiana town in 1810. He still resided in the county in 1835. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Center Township, p. 68. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 675.

²³⁹ James Parker was a resident of Indiana town in 1810. "Parker and Tomb" patented 400 acres of Indiana County land in 1812. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Washington Township, p. 79. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 674.

²⁴⁰ Mahoning Township, eventually divided into four townships, formed the northwest corner of Indiana County. There had also been an Indian town on Big Beaver Creek called Mahoning. Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, map facing p. 108.

²⁴¹ There were two William McHenrys in Indiana County in the area of Gilpin and Fisher lands. One was in Mahoning Township where he was a near neighbor of "John Simson." The other was in Washington Township and had as neighbors James Simpson and George Trimble. Since Gilpin later identified George Trimble and J. Simpson as other tenants on the land, he could have meant either McHenry. But the weight of the evidence is for the Washington Township family. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Mahoning and Washington Townships. pp. 63, 78, 79.

of abt. 50 acres each— we saw no game this day tho the woods abound in it. Bears, Wolves, Deer Foxes & wild Turkeys are killed down to the street of the town & sometimes within its limits—

I found this body of lands of the very first quality—abounding in gentle hills rich throughout with a good proportion of meadow ground in the vallies.

Our next route was intended to the lands on Two lick Creek, but this was rendered unn[e]cessary.— there are but two settlements on these lands, incapable of furnishing us with accommodation for the night & of the only two places where we could lodge or procure the persons proper to go with us,— Geo Trimble²⁴² & J Simpson²⁴³ two respectable adjoining settlers were absent—& our friend & agent Mc-Cartney unhappily this day lost his wife & a few days past his daughter with a violent malignant fever of which he had still two sons so ill as scarcely to be expected to live— this made it at once unsafe & improper for us to proceed there— I had also yesterday obtained full information of every thing in this quarter— nothing material having occurred since T Gilpins visit there who fully explored the country— I find also that Mc-Cartney has lately been over all the lands & prepared a compleat abstract of their situation for our use—

Octo^r. 7.—This day was Sunday, & the people here being nearly all very strict Irish Presbyterians, we remained altogether within doors, not wishing to give offence by moving in any direction as it would have been attributed to business— there was no public worship in the town nor for any distance within our reach— the Judge is also a strict disciple of Swedenburgh²⁴⁴ & would on no account do any act of business or even travel on sunday.

Our Landlord at the Inn is as civil as possible & knows or pretends to know every foot of our lands, & thinks he could settle the whole of them at once— he certainly has opportunity as strangers resort to his house—it being the custom for persons who want lands to go out to the unsettled country, till they find a place that pleases them— if

²⁴² George Trimble lived in Washington Township of Indiana County in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Washington Township, p. 79.

²⁴³ John "Simson" was in Mahoning Township of Indiana County in 1810, and James Simpson lived in Washington Township. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Mahoning Township, pp. 63, 78, 79. See also Note 241.

²⁴⁴ The Swedenborgians were a small religious sect with a few followers scattered over western Pennsylvania. Emanuel Swedenborg came to America in 1734 from Sweden. Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, p. 413. The Swedenborgiana documents are housed at the library of the Academy of the New Church at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.

their families are with them which is frequently the case, they fix at once on a spot & go to work— if not they fix first & then go home to bring their families.

Yesterday—Shryock—the landlord brought me three Swiss who were hovering about the house enquiring for lands— I sent them immediately with a guide to a place on Crooked Creek which a tenant had just left— they brought with them a parcell of Vine cuttings & meant to try the cultivation— they liked the place very well and were coming back to agree with me for it—but met an old man who spoke their language & told them the place was haunted by an old woman who had died there on which they turned to another quarter & sent me word they would have nothing to do with the place—

Octo^r. 8. . . . The Judge as much as myself concluding that the immediate objects of my visit were accomplished as to this quarter we agreed to go over to Yellow Creek²⁴⁵—& in order not to retravel any ground in this difficult country he proposed to take us on from hence direct thro the country, to Bedford on our road home—the distance about 70 miles but thro the roughest part of the state: with bad roads & worse accommodations however his perfect knowledge of the country, & people induced us to agree to his proposal as we had no doubt with his company & assistance to get thro tho without them it was utterly out of the question

Before leaving Indiana we had spent Saturday evening with M^{rs} Denniston Gen^l. Campbells daughter (M^r Denniston being at Philadelphia). we found M^{rs}. D. still more handsome than her sister Jane & she entertained us as handsomely as we could have been any where— her sister M^{rs} McClean²⁴⁶ & her husband took tea with us and pressed us to visit them 2 or 3 miles in the country which we were sorry to decline— M^{rs} Hayes the Physicians wife is near being confined which prevented her waiting on MG.— these are the chief genteel persons here— however it is not at all difficult to see that even here in this town just emerging from the wilderness a very decent little society of amiable people is to be obtained—

We have had the best beef here since we left Philadelphia & the only

²⁴⁵ Yellow Creek is a branch of the Conemaugh River via Two Lick Creek in the eastern sector of Indiana County.

²⁴⁶ James McLean was a resident of Center Township, Indiana County, in 1810. By 1815 he had become the holder of three county offices, prothonotary, register, and recorder. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Center Township, pp. 67, 69, 71; *Pittsburgh Directory for 1815*, p. 101.

Mutton which was excellent— as for game tho it abounds so near we have had none— the farmers are all busy in sowing their grain—& the season for hunting has not commenced tho the game is tolerably fat— our tenants say they would in a day or two bring in plenty if we would stay, however our business hurries us too much to attend to it

I can readily perceive that Indiana has already had an effect on the improvement of the country & price of lands— several of our tenants are desirous to buy, & offer \$4. per acre— I suppose they would give \$5. & perhaps \$6.—& from the general opinion I can collect from all quarters I believe there are none of our lands in this county which would not bring \$3. per acre—

This morning we had a crowd to see us before we set off—which detained us— John Craven²⁴⁷ one of our Yellow Creek tenants came over and undertook to conduct us back to those lands— they lay abt. 6 miles from Indiana—the road [being] over a spur of the Chesnut Ridge which tho not steep is stony & the road scarcely beaten even by wag-gons— from Indiana we had scarce any settlement but continued forest till we passed the ridge at the foot of which is yellow creek— the road enters our lands on the tract occupied by Thomas Craven²⁴⁸— who has a fine well cultivated improvement & may be considered one of the best tenants we have— John Craven is settled on the tract adjoining his father— on the same tract with T Craven was an improvement by Jesse Talkington.²⁴⁹

We found on Yellow Creek an expanse of fine rich dry bottom forming excellent wheat land being too dry for meadow— on part of it is an old Indian clearing which evinces their knowledge of its fertility— in general I find their lands of a lighter soil tho rich & fit for wheat they appear also to lay well on the SE descent of the Chesnut ridge which appears to end here I apprehend from the general heighth of the country approaching nearly to the level of that hill— the country here as well as on our Crooked Creek lands abound in coal²⁵⁰ tho the veins near the surface are thinner than to the southward being

²⁴⁷ John Craven lived in Wheatfield Township, Indiana County, in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 73.

²⁴⁸ Thomas Craven was a resident of Wheatfield Township of Indiana County in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 73.

²⁴⁹ John Talkantine lived in Weatfield Township of Indiana County in 1810. He was a neighbor of Thomas Craven. No Jesse Talkington appears in this census. *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Indiana County has supported extensive strip mining because the veins of coal are near the surface.

generally not more than from 2 to 3 feet thick— the upper parts of these tracts are some of them rocky owing I apprehend to their running into the Chesnut ridge— there is said to be a good mill seat on one of the tracts & the general goodness of the lands may be judged of from the tenants desire to buy them— both the Cravens want to purchase and would give \$4.— the tenants say that there is iron on these lands but have not investigated it, I apprehend however that it will be found on those parts of the lands which are upon the Chesnut ridge which almost every where abounds with it— we stopped at Daniel Slipeys²⁵¹ who has an improvement formerly made by [] which consists of a cabin & barn & ab^t [] acres from thence we went to L Goosehornes²⁵² who has another improvement & also carries on the blacksmiths business— he tells me he gets his coal from a bank on one of the tracts on the side of Yellow Creek—& sometimes from another neither of these however are on our lands but he works them because they are most convenient to him— Yellow Creek where we crossed it is a pretty lively stream appearing fully sufficient for a mill even at this very dry season— we got a kind of dinner of eggs, bread & butter & milk at Goosehornes and proceeded down Brush valley along John Gilpins²⁵³ 4 tracts which we found all settled & good lands but since none of the tenants except Robert Elkin²⁵⁴ a very decent Irishman who accompanied us to shew us the way being now obliged to abandon the main road on acct of the quantity of fallen timber in it we had therefore to pursue a bye path of the settlers, over every sort of obstacle such as swamps, gullies, hills, timber &ca— about evening we came to W^m Clarkes²⁵⁵ mill—& soon after were benighted in this wild country & lost our road however the Judge soon found it again & we

²⁵¹ Daniel Slipey was a resident of Wheatfield Township in 1810. In 1818 he patented 300 acres of Indiana County land. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 73. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 675.

²⁵² Leonard Goosehorn lived in Wheatfield Township, Indiana County, in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield and Washington Townships, pp. 75, 79.

²⁵³ John Gilpin secured 400 acres of Bedford County land in 1794. This could have been the land mentioned because Indiana County was not yet organized in 1794. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, 526.

²⁵⁴ Robert Elkins lived in Wheatfield Township, Indiana County, in 1810. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 75.

²⁵⁵ William Clark secured 300 acres of Westmoreland County land in 1785, 100 acres in 1790, 100 in 1793, and 400 in 1794. He built an early mill on Blacklick Creek, Indiana County. In 1810 William Clark, Senior and Junior, were neighbors in Wheatfield Township. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, pp. 411-15. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 74.

had the good fortune to meet a small farm house where we lighted our lamps and at length reached Armagh²⁵⁶ abt 8 OClock in safety

We found this a miserable place consisting of a few houses— the Judge took us to an Inn or house so called but which was the worst we had yet seen, it was kept by one Dickie²⁵⁷ & his wife both Irish people. Dickie was absent but his partner one Wilson²⁵⁸ a huge man of 6 ft. 6. high expected his wife to supply the wants of travellers these two men Dickie & Wilson not only keep the Inn but are a kind of rude traders chiefly in whiskey & a few other indifferent articles with which they supply the country & take in return furs cattle & such other produce as they can collect which they take chiefly cattle to the marketts centred [sic] as far as Philadelphia— on one of these expeditions Dickie was now absent—

The house was of logs but 2 stories high it had but one room above & one below— the latter was kitchen, bar room, sitting room for all the guests of whatever description & family lodging room, the bed being in one corner & others occasionally made up for lodgers. The stair caise was open so that the conversation & communication above & below was uninterrupted— above the room had 3 beds ranged head to foot along the wall & the middle one a kind of camp bedstead with a rude curtain thrown over made of M^{rs} Dickies old gown—a kind of black muslin worked with flowers— the rest of the room was a general store room in one corner was the binn for oats in another the barrell of whiskey, another of Vinegar, & all the stock in trade of the firm— as the Judge commands universally civility. M^{rs} Dickie did her best & allotted the whole of this room to our party, a fire was made in it while supper was cooked below where our servants & a concourse of waggoners & others were also assembled— we were soon called down and were first served by ourselves, with a decent cup of tea, some eggs, fish &ca—after which we retired & our servants with all the rest took

²⁵⁶ Armagh, settled by Scotch-Irish in 1792, is in the southeastern sector of Indiana County. Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 379; Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1890.

²⁵⁷ William Dickie lived in Indiana County and secured 181 additional acres of land in that county in 1818, and Thomas Dickie was a resident of Wheatfield Township, 1810. But it is probable that Gilpin made a mistake in the name. There was no Dickie listed for Armagh in the census of 1810, but there was an Adam Rickey who was entered on the census taker's list next to Alexander Willson. Gilpin reported that Willson was a partner of "Dickie" in the inn and a store at Armagh. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 74. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 666.

²⁵⁸ Alexander Willson lived in Wheatfield Township, Indiana County, in 1810. Next to him in the census report was Adam Rickey. U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, p. 74; see also Note 257.

the remainder— thus far for supper—but the Judge, Henry, & ourselves were all to be accommodated in one room—as necessity however has no law, we but half undressed. Mary & myself took the middle bed, Henry one of the others & the Judge the third— we slept very well notwithstanding the noise below, & one or two visits of our huge landlord who came into our room either to get oats, draw whiskey or from curiosity we luckily found the beds without vermin and had clean sheets.

Octo^r. 9th—We were up pretty early— yesterday I had dispatched a messenger from Goosehorns requesting McCartney our agent to meet me at Armagh— he came early this morning— T Gilpin had been personally well acquainted with him & had been at his house, I had never seen him before— I found him however a very decent & respectable old man, an Irishman by birth, but well informed particularly of this country, where he has resided many years, he gave me a general account in writing of all our tenants & such further verbal information as added to what I had already obtained formed as good general information of them as I was likely to obtain at all—

There now remained therefore only to visit those lands of Gilpin & Fishers which lay in Cambria County, a distinct district containing ab^t 10,000 a[cre]s taken up at the same time as the rest but laying ab^t. 30 miles from hence it was not expected when I left home either by myself or my friends that I should reach them, nor indeed was it so necessary as they are in good order and under the care of Col. Canan,²⁵⁹ an attentive agent— I should however have wished to go there but it was utterly impracticable the roads being impassable— I must therefore have left Mary to find her way out of this solitude & have wandered alone for many days on horseback, before I could have joined her again— the Judge could not go with me & I had no guide— I am also obliged to be in Philadelphia the 21st— it was therefore absolutely necessary to give it up— these lands are chiefly approachable from Huntingdon which is to the eastward of them, & the route by which T Gilpin went to them in 1801—

We were at Armagh ab^t. 30 miles from the post road, & the road [was] not only very bad, but we must have lost 2 days by regaining it—

²⁵⁹ "John Canan, Esquire," secured 398½ acres of land in Bedford County in 1789. Moses H. Canan was born in Ebensburg, which became the seat of Cambria County when it was formed. He was later an attorney and judge of the court in Blair County. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, 481. Tarrington S. Davis (ed.), *A History of Blair County, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1931), II, 128.

in this situation the Judge proposed the bold measure of striking direct thro the country to Bedford a distance of abt. 60 miles— as he perfectly knew the country and had a full consideration for Mary so as not to lead us into difficulties, we agreed to it.— our Waggon is hung so low that it is almost impossible to overset it— it is so strong as to resist every thing we have gone thro or probably shall, & so light, that 4 stout men as we are can get it out of any difficulty if they occur—we therefore left Armagh abt. 10 OClock—

The road we took has been opened by the State & is called a State road—that is the Trees are cut out of it pretty wide but being travelled by no carriages—even waggons passing very rarely the chief track is a path made by the Carriers on packhorses—the rest being nearly full of bushes— the chief inconvenience however is from the timber which has fallen across it, to the removal of which little attention is paid as the packers continue to get round them without much inconvenience—

For abt. a mile from Armagh we had a good road & some settlements to Findleys²⁶⁰ mill whose owner we met & found him a decent man, acquainted with my brother— from hence our course was over the Laurel hill thro one uninterrupted forest of lofty trees with little underwood we found the hill as to natural difficulties far easier than the course we had passed it to the southward & as we are told than the post road, nor was it difficult to find— the blown timber also was not so bad but we removed or got over it tolerably, & after 12 miles we descended & found ourselves among some settlements again on the banks of the Conemaugh a beautiful stream navigable from hence to the Allegany— after fording it we rode along its banks to its junction with the Quemahoning, where we found a neat little town formerly an Indian settlement—& now called Jones's town²⁶¹— it is seated on a fine rich & perfectly level plain, thro which the Conemaugh runs— the plain has perhaps a mile of area—surrounded on all sides by mountains— in the town is a good mill & 20 or 30 very decent houses; the situation was such as delighted us being one of those where we could have reposed for several days— we found also an excellent Inn kept by a M^{rs}. Beatty²⁶² a friend of the Judges who, did every thing to make

²⁶⁰ George Findley secured 275 acres of Indiana County land in 1808, and was a resident of Wheatfield Township in 1810. The small stream on which he built his mill is still known as Findleys Run. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXVI, 667; Sharp and Thomas, *Old Stone Blast Furnaces*, p. 54; U. S. Census of 1810, Pennsylvania, Indiana County, Wheatfield Township, pp. 72, 76.

²⁶¹ Founded in 1800 by Joseph Johns, the name used was Conemaugh until 1834, when it became Johnstown. Donahoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1815.

²⁶² Mary Beatty of Conemaugh was involved in a long and bitter law suit reported in 1811 by Henry Hunlock. *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Nashville, 1897), p. 264.

us comfortable—her house being a good two story frame we all had good rooms & beds & a neat and excellent supper— this days ride by estimation was 12 miles— we concluded it to be at least 16— it cost us the day however to accomplish it— the annual state election for the district was held here to day, however our house was left quiet— the Proprietor of the town who owns the mill & lives in it a Mr. Holliday,²⁶³ came with others to see us & I was happy to find that he not only knew my brother, but was his surveyor when he surveyed the Cambria lands in 1801.— he frequently goes into that country which is abt 30 miles from hence²⁶⁴ & gave me a good deal of information about our lands— he confirmed the information I had received however of the impossibility of reaching them from this quarter except on horseback—

He tells me that as yet few arks have been sent down from hence, but it is easy to do it & will be done as the settlement of this valley improves—the whole trade being commanded by the Conemaugh & Quemahoning unless roads are made across the Allegany [Mountain] to the Juniata [River]— the distance from hence to Stoys town on the post road is 18 miles and a good road—but this would be a considerable distance farther than the route we were pursuing to Bedford.

Octo^r. 10—We had now before us the last & worst day of toil before we reached Bedford—which was to cross the Alleganey mountain thro the same kind of road we had pursued yesterday— we therefore rose early and left Conemaugh— for 2 or 3 miles we had rude settlements continually ascending a ridge which seems rather a distinct one from the Alleganey— we had then uninterrupted forest for abt 10 miles— changing to a species of soil & wood we had not yet encountered, it is a rich fat black earth loaded with immensely tall & large white firrs, hemlock, spruce & beech—the roots spreading in every direction over the ground & making a most uncomfortable shaking road.— scarce any underwood grows beneath these trees, but their vast branches spreading every way & mostly evergreen, prevents the sun either from raising small plants or from drying the soil— it is therefore damp & cold, & so extremely wet that our waggon & horses had to wade thro

²⁶³ Cambria Forge was built about 1809 by John Halliday, proprietor of Johnstown. He had previously been in the iron industry of the Juniata Valley. *Guide-book to Historic Places in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1938), p. 56.

²⁶⁴ This confirmation of distance from Johnstown by Mr. Halliday placed the Gilpin Cambria County lands near Hollidaysburg in what is now Blair County. Between 1771 and 1794 several members of the Gilpin Family secured patents for 1,900 acres in what was to become Cambria County. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1801; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, pp. 519-26.

mire trust with the roots of trees & heavy stones— it was by far the most fatiguing day we had travelled & the only relief was that the ascent of the mountain was extremely gradual— in the middle of the forest we reached a solitary hut of the most wretched kind which however often affords more comfort than the most splendid Inns— an old man & his wife with a house full of children have here built this cot & about half cleared 5 or 6 acres of ground— they sell oats to travellers & whiskey without a license for which some anxious people have informed against them— the Court however would not punish them as they were too poor to pay for a license & it was proved by numbers that without the aid they afford especially in fire—many must have perished in passing this dreary road—a distance of 20 miles without any other resting place—

We got oats for our horses, & eat some cold meat bread & ca which we had brought with us—& pursued our journey— for 3 or 4 miles we encountered still worse roads than before— after that the rise of the mountain brought us on better ground & before sunset we came to the point of the hill, where it at once descends in one mile of steep but well made road— from the summit we had an enchanting view to the eastward of the vale below & a vast expanse of mountains.

We had now 6 miles of descending ground, sometimes pretty steep but the road very good, the soil being a shelly slate which crumbles into earth— a part of this is high bushy ground without timber we then came into a finely settled & cultivated country, night came upon us but we had recourse to our lamps & a good road—so that we reached in safety an excellent house kept by M^r Vickeroy²⁶⁵ where we had an excellent supper & good beds.

M^r Vickeroy was not at home but his wife, daughter, & M^{rs}. Vs sister were very attentive to us.— I regretted M^r Vs absence as he was a man of much intelligence & capable of giving us a great deal of information of the country— he has long been Surveyor of the district—of course knows all the lands far & near. I find also chemical & mineralogical books about the room which as well as M^{rs} Vs information shews he has paid attention to that subject— M^{rs} V is a very decent well behaved woman as indeed are all the family & we feel more as if we were at a

²⁶⁵ Thomas Vickroy, Bedford County surveyor, was engaged by Tench Francis, agent for the Penn Family, to lay out a plan for the town of Pittsburgh in 1784. The purpose was to facilitate the sale of building lots. Vickroy secured title to about 3,800 acres of land in Bedford County from 1785 to 1794. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, pp. 652-53. Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 80, 122; Neville B. Craig, *The History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1917), pp. 169, 281.

private than public house— indeed the family are Swedenburghers— of the Judges own opinions, of course they respect him, & would take no payment for his expenses.

Octo. 11th—This morning it rained, for the first time since our journey beyond the continuance of a few minutes— it was not hard but the wind being easterly, the change of weather was very grateful from the mid day heat we had so long experienced.

The rain was not so constant, but I had opportunity during its intermissions to take some view of this farm which is a very beautiful one— it contains 1000 acres of rich, level, land, fit for any sort of culture— Dunnings Creek²⁶⁶ runs thro it which is navigable for boats to [the] Juniata & the Susquehanna— the country is beautifully improved in its neighbourhood—and it is seated beneath the mountain, which while it shelters it from the bleakness of westerly winds adds beauty to the prospect & affords the convenience of game.— the farm is also nicely improved.— the orchard is the best I think I ever saw.— the trees being very thriving & the fruit most excellently chosen— in fact I never saw such fine pippins & other apples as they gave us. the air of comfort & plenty about this farm altogether was such that we could only wonder how so decent a family so well fixed would undertake to keep a tavern— however it is necessary to understand the country in order to judge of this—

Farmers in such a situation as this & especially a person who transacts a variety of business is so exposed to calls that his house is kept full of people, & if he is at all hospitable is made the general resort of his friends who pass this way— we ourselves at the instance of the Judge had intended to pass the night here before we knew M^r Vickeroy had opened an Inn—indeed we could not have avoided it.— besides in hard times & remote from a market it brings in money for the produce of the farm— nor does the business of an Inn either obtain any particular attention from those who keep them, which can hurt their comfort, —or the idea in the least denig[r]ate from their consequence.

Our attention was called from the house to view what they call the Allum banks²⁶⁷ which is extremely beautiful— the Creek winds in front of the house abt 100 yards from it but is not seen from it the banks being a precipice of 50 feet—cut by the water with precision—

²⁶⁶ Dunnings Creek flows into the Juniata River at Bedford.

²⁶⁷ There is a modern village called Alum Bank along the highway from Bedford to Johnstown. The outcropping on the bank of the creek is a short distance below the village.

this whole hill consists of aluminas, that loose crumbling slate we had so often remarked—the Allum perhaps brought out by the partial calcination of the stone from the heat of the sun.— [it] appears all over the rock in a variety of chrystalls, of various colors—some as yellow as Sulphur—others white & yielding pure allum & by the variegation of their tints [they] give great beauty to the Cliffs which compose the bank of the creek— I had before discovered Allum in such a variety of places as to believe that a vast proportion of the slaty substance of which the lower hills or spurrs of the mountain is composed is impregnated with it, and that it will be found generally thro the country on both sides the Alleganey [Mountain] in particular Mr Vickeroy's farm is offered for sale at \$20. per acre which gives about the highest value of farms in this country as it is decidedly one of the best

We left Vickeroy's & pursued our course along Dunning's Creek—the banks of aluminas extending for some distance— at about 3 miles we cross a branch called [South West Branch] nearly where it falls into Dunning's Creek— here also the banks of allum are visible with their surfaces of chrystallized salts— after passing this branch—we find veins of limestone running across the vale, & soon after we cross Dunning's Creek itself on a bridge— it is a beautiful tranquil stream like the Juniata, uninterrupted by any rocks & pursuing a course perfectly gentle & suitable for navigation when the waters are full— we now begin to have a more distinct idea of the vale which is bounded on the east by a ridge called Dunning's mountain, and on the west by the Alleganey— it is perhaps 6 or 7 miles wide, but a considerable part of this width is occupied on the western side by those hills or spurrs of slaty soil which distend from the Alleganey— the fairest & best land of the vale seems to be in the centre & from several creeks close up to Dunning's mountain— it is some miles wide & finely cultivated—the fall of the country being in gentle hills and undulations, but not broken— it is called Dunning's valley but may be properly termed the east valley of the Alleganey, and extends from the Maryland line up to Frankstown on the Juniata—this part in which we are now all being watered by Dunning creek—& above by the south branch of the Juniata.—tho its limits north & south are by no means thus confined as it probably extends with the Alleganey mountain itself—

We overtook an old friend²⁶⁸ who with his son were driving a wagon to Bedford— there were two very decent looking women in it probably his daughters— he gave me considerable information of this

²⁶⁸ It is apparent that Gilpin meant the man was a Quaker, not an acquaintance.

vall[e]y & says there are a number of Quaker families settled in it²⁶⁹ not far from Vickeroy's he confirmed the account I had received of the goodness of the lands generally—but he says Vickeroy's will scarcely bring \$20. per acre tho' worth it—he thinks it will fully command \$15. shortly after I met young Wisecarver²⁷⁰ a German who owns a good farm here—& confirmed the account the friend had given me—Wisecarver's father was taken to Philadelphia in the Whiskey rebellion of 1794.²⁷¹ suspected of being concerned in it, but no indictment was found against him—the young man appears very moderate in his politics but thinks the opposition to the excise upon distilleries which took place in 1794 would have died away & that there was no occasion of marching the troops into the country as was done—

About 8 miles from Vickeroy's we came in sight of Bedford which is beautifully seated on an eminence surrounded by the vale & a number of hills handsomely cultivated. from whatever point it is seen it appears to advantage as a neat tho' small town—the hills variegated by wood & cultivation which surround it and the larger mountains at a distance in every way give it uncommon interest—

At Bedford we again joined the post road, & found many of our friends here also our expedition further westward seem[?] to have begun & now to have ended—as we had only to pursue a direct course home—the Judge would now leave us after conducting us to a place of security & we were glad partly in compliment to him & partly to enjoy some repose to rest here for a day, especially as we received many letters from home & found several attentive friends here—

²⁶⁹ The original settlers of St. Clair Township, Bedford County, were Quakers. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1790.

²⁷⁰ George Weiscarver (also spelled Wisecarver, Wisegerner, and Wisegarver) patented 750 acres of land in Bedford County from 1784 to 1793. John Weiscarver also had 360 acres. The Weiscarver residence on Dunning's Creek appears on Howell's 1792 "Map of Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XXV, 656, 658-59, 661, 668; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 21.

²⁷¹ Neither Baldwin nor the *Pennsylvania Archives* volume on the Whiskey Rebellion mentions this arrest of Weiscarver. There were some arrests made at Bedford, however. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*. Koontz, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties*, II, 149-55; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 364.

PART FIVE

Bedford to Philadelphia

October 12 to October 22

Octo^r. 12—It had continued a mizzly rain all yesterday, last night, & this morning partly clearing up at intervals, on our journey outwards we had seen little of this place, but we soon found it was interesting enough to merit some time and attention— a mineral spring has been discovered here lately ab 1½ miles South of the town & has become greatly celebrated— the Judge has so high an opinion of it that he says if we drink heartily of it only at one visit we shall be free from all sickness for 9 months.²⁷²— we therefore determined to visit it & were accompanied by the Judge & a Mr Espey,²⁷³ a young gentleman of the town who is now running for Senater in the State Legislature— we found an excellent road to the spring along a small rivulet²⁷⁴ which winds in a beautiful little valley southward part of Cumberland valley²⁷⁵— we found the spring rising out of the side of the hill thro the fissure of a rock—a considerable distance above the rivulet— it is a copious spring of very clear fine water, rather warmer than most springs tho by no means a warm one— it does not shew any carbonic acid gaz or fixed air, but probably contains some, however it appears more impregnated with Sulphur & common salt—probably with the sulphurated hydrogen gaz. it has never been analized— it has proved however very serviceable, & has had a resort of abt. 300 persons al-

²⁷² It is little wonder that, with such extravagant claims, Bedford Springs was growing so rapidly in popularity.

²⁷³ In 1816 Josiah M. Espey became a partner in the Bedford Mineral Springs Company, which operated the resort. David Espey entertained George Washington in his Bedford home in 1794. Schell, *Annals of Bedford County*, p. 46; *Guidebook*, p. 42.

²⁷⁴ Shobers, or Shovers, Run, a branch of the Juniata River.

²⁷⁵ This Cumberland Valley is distinct from that of the same name at Chambersburg.

together during the late summer— Doc^r Anderson²⁷⁶ of Bedford who owns the spring & tract of land on which it is found—appears to have been very liberal in his attempt to bring it into use— he has built a handsome & large frame lodging house and several smaller ones for families—warm & cold baths, & a billiard room— the accommodations are therefore very good and of all watering places I have seen in America there seems to be none which for the beauty of the spot, & of the country around and their decided health appears more worthy to be visited.

This little vale appears particularly interesting to naturalists & I shall not be surprized if mineralogical discoveries are made here well worthy attention— the hills on each side evidently abound in limestone, slate, & sulphur—the latter derived no doubt from the aluminous shale I have mentioned which is no doubt the source of the spring— numerous other springs also abound in the hill— one of them deposits its calcareous particles with as much rapidity as the dropping well at Knaresborough²⁷⁷ or the petrifying wells at Matlack²⁷⁸— it has formed quite a small hill around its source in which it has converted into stone in a confused mass all the vegetables, leaves, wood & other substances which have fallen in its way.

Below the Spring in the rivulet itself is a curious appearance which I have never seen nor heard of but which is singularly interesting—the stream or rivulet is a beautiful, limestone brook perfectly transparent. it is about 10 yards wide at the spot, and 3 or 4 deep— at a certain depth below there appears a mass of the water, of a beautiful bright violet color inclining to rose color, suffused over the bottom in an irregular shape like a cloud— the water above it for at least 2 or 3 feet is perfectly transparent as the rest of the stream & runs with some velocity but this mass of colored water retains its position without at all mixing or being affected by the rest of the stream— if an inverted bottle is sunk down to it & then filled it brings up the colored water— highly red as I have mentioned, & both smelling & tasting strongly of sulphur— the appearance changes with the season in winter & spring

²⁷⁶ Dr. John Anderson purchased the lands surrounding the springs in 1798. The mineral springs had been discovered in 1796 by Nicholas Shauffler. Anderson built a bathhouse and boarding house. In 1816 most of the resort was purchased by the Bedford Mineral Springs Company, of which he was a partner. Schell, *Annals of Bedford County*, p. 46.

²⁷⁷ Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, England, possesses "dropping wells" whose waters have petrifying properties.

²⁷⁸ Matlock is a vacation resort area in Derbyshire, England. At Matlock Bath the "petrifying" wells were once used for medicinal purposes.

when the stream is very full it scarcely appears, but at the end of summer & autumn it is very considerable as it now was the stream being very low—no person has yet attempted to develope it nor have I heard the opinion of any medical man— my own opinion founded on the slight observation, I was able to give it, is that it is composed of water highly impregnated with sulphurated hydrogen preserving a greater density than, the common water above & like the different colored liquors in an apothecary shew bottle—retains a position at the bottom of the rivulet unconnected with it— its color is probably owing to some vegetable substances growing on the bottom of the stream or brought down by it—and its more plentiful appearance in summer & autumn, [is] either [owing] to those vegetables then abounding more, or [resulting] from the mass of the substance itself being then less disturbed or mixed with the stream from the diminution and tranquility it then assumes—

We returned to Bedford & dined after which we took leave of our friend the Judge who will now return home—and of our other friends after which we—came on & pursued the same ground I have described the 21 Sept^r. as far as Bloody run—being along the Juniata— this road we found good except where it turns the immediate points of the three distinct ridges of Dunnings Mountain, Tusseys mountain & the Warriors ridge— so perfectly however are all these cut thro by the Juniata that there is scarce any rise of the road above the bank of the stream & little more obstruction than the stones which roll down from the hills, all of which rise from the road & overhang the river very majestically, tho not quite perpendicular.

the valleys between these hills as they front on the road are but narrow all the hills seeming to be brought near together, as if nature designed to make an important & easy pass thro them at this place—the vale between Dunnings & Tusseys mountain expands itself however immediately to the northward forming what is called Morrisons Cove— that between Tusseys & Warriors mountain seems very narrow—they all however appear to follow the mountains both to the northward & southward—

We lodged at Taits at Bloody run & had a sitting room & fire partly to ourselves, but the general supper for the household had been laid in it before we came— we were therefore obliged to admit about a dozen travellers of all descriptions—Waggoners—horsemen—foot—Dutch, Irish, & Dunkards (a religious sect with long beards) to take their supper—after which the board was cleared & a very decent one prepared for us—

Octo^r. 13th—

We rose & came off by sunrise wishing to change the stages we had made when we came out on this journey as some of them were very indifferent— our ride was 8 miles—during which we passed the Juniata at those irregular crossings I have mentioned— we reached Mauns where we formerly lodged to breakfast— from thence we came on to the Sideling hill or rather first to Rays hill which is here so united to it as to shew no space between but only to make the ridge on the top more extensive— notwithstanding all the hills we had gone over we found this still one of the most tedious if not more than any other— a great deal has been done to make the ascent & descent easy, both [but] the top of the hill is as bad as either being a succession of little eminences all of them rocky, & highly fatiguing—we presume it was the full decline of 7 miles which is allotted to it from the bottom at one side to the other—2½ or 3 of which is on the top of the mountain—

We were full 4 hours in passing this hill, & about 4 OClock arrived at the Running Pump an Inn on the East side where we had formerly baited— we got here one of our usual luncheons & sat out for McConnells town—

The vale or distance from the Sideling Ridge to the North Mountain is interrupted by a lesser ridge called Scrub ridge which tho it does not rank among the higher hills, partakes of all their roughness— we had this to climb & it appeared to occupy 3 or 4 miles of continued rocky ascents—so that notwithstanding our early departure & all the expedition we used it was after night before we reached McConnells town, having made good only 24 miles in full 12. hours travelling— We found at McConnells town a house full of guests, with whom we were obliged to sup. however they were all of them decent men & two in particular very gentlemanly M^r Riddle²⁷⁹ an eminent lawyer of Chambersburg & M^r Brown²⁸⁰ another lawyer—

Octo^r. 14.

We rose this morning with no small pleasure at the idea that this was to be the last day of our confinement among these mountainous

²⁷⁹ James Riddle was an attorney at Chambersburg. I. H. M'Cauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1878), p. 59.

²⁸⁰ Gilpin did not give the place of residence of Attorney Brown nor other information to aid in identification. However, "William M. Brown, Esquire," a son-in-law of Benjamin Chambers, of Chambersburg, was active in legal matters of south central Pennsylvania in this period. Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 353.

regions & that night would bring us to Chambersburgh where the journey home tho still considerable in distance seemed comparatively little in aspect—

We left McConnells town & soon mounted the North Mountain by that steep Zig Zag road I have mentioned before— we found it not altogether so tedious as the Sideling hill, but accustomed as we are to Mountains we do not at all retract our opinions of those we have just passed—

We were 3 hours in passing this mountain, which is reckoned— about 5 miles—one mile more brought us to Loudon— we passed at some little distance from our old host Whitesides without the smallest desire to renew our acquaintance—

from hence we had a stretch of 5 miles, over hills partly of limestone & partly of slate and which appear the spurrs of the North mountain²⁸¹ extending into & abridging the fine Chambersburg Valley, at this distance we reached Campbells town,²⁸² where we found a very large Inn with numerous apartments— this had been overlooked on our outward [journey] as not being a convenient stage.—tho we should gladly have accommodated ourselves to it sooner than have lodged at Whitesides:

We took dinner at Rhodes Inn²⁸³ at Campbells town— the town itself is a poor place— near it is a remarkable limestone Cave²⁸⁴ which has been travelled into, for abt. 200 yards, & a great number of petrifactions or Stalactites found in it—

We sat out after dinner & in 9 miles reached our old quarter at Chambersburg—where we were to leave our hired horses & driver, perfectly satisfied that without them we should scarcely if at all have accomplished our journey— here we received letters from Philad^a. inclosing a number from England which were a truly grateful treat at such a distance & in such a situation— our letters from Philad^a. tho they contain nothing material make us anxious to get home as fast as possible the more so as the weather appears now to have broken

²⁸¹ The road between Fort Loudon and St. Thomas skirts Jordans Knob and Parnells Knob, which are the southern ends of the Kittochtinny Mountain and Blue (or North) Mountain, respectively.

²⁸² Now the village of St. Thomas, named for Thomas Campbell.

²⁸³ Rhodes Inn at Campbellstown was too close to Chambersburg to attract west-bound travelers to stop, but Gilpin was regretful that they had not used its comfortable accommodations instead of stopping at Whiteside's at Fort Loudon. *See* Note 50.

²⁸⁴ This cave near Williamson, Pennsylvania, was opened for visitors in the twentieth century and advertised as Baker Cavern. It is no longer open.

into rain & it is most likely we shall experience only a succession of cold and roads every day becoming worse— we proposed originally not to return by way of York, but to take the direct route of the post & stage—thro this fine valley to Harrisburg—perhaps to Reading & from one or the other to strike direct home—

Octo^r. 16.

We had to settle our accounts, arrange our baggage, overlook our carriage, & at once to settle for the past & provide for the future journey, our anxiety to get home however induced us to dispatch these in a small time & we were on the road by a little after 9 OClock—

Our course now was thro the fine valley I have already mentioned, extending between the North & South mountain for a long distance thro the continent in a NE & SW direction— the two mountains are perhaps 20 miles apart, & hold a course nearly parrallel varying the space between by occasional indentations— of this space a part on both sides is occupied by the small ridges or spurrs of each mountain, often forming rugged and in some places indifferent land leaving the space between or middle of the valley like a large river expanding at some times & contracted at others but of a uniform rich yellow, loamy soil not altogether level but interspersed with small eminences or rather fine undulations of [the] surface—crossed diagonally with veins of dark blue limestone often forming hard knotty points— thro this space the road pursuing a course tolerably straight meets, now & then the hills on each side & comes in contact with their spurrs or projections—

From Chambersburg to Shippensburg 10 miles—the road is altogether thro the fine lands of the Valley of the soil I have described, & accompanied almost every where by fine farms.— the road itself [is] very good— Shippensburg where we halted to dine at 10 miles from Chambersburg is a neat little town of ab^t 100 houses—it was founded in [1733] and named after the family²⁸⁵ who were originally Quakers that came in with William Penn and held many important offices in the government— from hence a road strikes off westward to Strasburg & enters the mountains uniting with that from Chambersburg on the top of the Sideling hill²⁸⁶— tis said this is the nearest road of the two—

From Shippensburg we pursued our journey towards Carlisle, there

²⁸⁵ Edward Shippen founded the town as a part of the merchant empire he operated. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1855.

²⁸⁶ This was the Three Mountain Road followed by Joseph Gibbons on the eastward part of his journey. See Gibbons, Notes.

are two roads here one by Mount rock—the other considerably to the right by what is called the Walnut bottom— we chose the latter, which from its course evidently brought us in 3 or 4 miles very near the South mountain whose incurvations also are here considerably westward— on this account tho the road was level we were carried into very meagre land abounding in pines— the South mountain however soon trends away to the eastward so that our road again runs over finer land than we had seen in the Valley it is what is called Walnut land from being originally chiefly covered with that tree which is ever an indication of soil of the richest quality— we found accordingly delightful meadows & fine upland—of the most beautiful undulating form. & the small knobs of limestone rock which appear here and there being left in wood the country is as beautifully grouped as the finest Parks, we looked particularly at several and agreed that if a good house had [been] placed among the large & undulating fields & the fences taken away they would have been equally beautiful as some of the finest planted seats in England—

It began to rain very fast— one of our horses was very dull from being left at Chambersburg where he had grown very fat— the other was rather exhausted by travelling with us we found therefore that it would not do to push them so that instead of reaching Carlisle we stopped at an Inn 7 miles short of it, at a large stone house very comfortably kept by Mr Moore²⁸⁷—our journey 25 miles—

Octo^r. 17th. We left Moores tavern at 6 OClock wishing to make a push for this days ride we were however disappointed. it had continued a mizzling rain thro the night never very hard but it had filled the road and made them very deep & bad— the rich soil of this country soon forming bad roads— ab^t. 2 miles from Carlisle we broke down one of our hind wheels coming off injured the end of our wooden axle tree— Mary & Henry walked forward & ab^t. 200 yards found an inn, very dirty & indifferent kept by one Hunter²⁸⁸— finding nothing could be done on the road with the assistance of our servant I moved the carriage out of the road to the side of a wood, & mounting one of our horses, with my driving coat for a saddle I came on & found Mary & Henry at the Inn— we then mustered up one or two

²⁸⁷ Mr. Moore's fine stone inn was located along the Yellow Breeches Creek near the present village of Mooredale. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

²⁸⁸ Hunter's Inn, two miles west of Carlisle, was probably the home of John Hunter. *First Census . . . of 1790 . . . Cumberland County*, p. 84; *U. S. Census of 1800, Middleton Township*, pp. 151, 153.

hands & went back—but finding nothing could be done, I went back to the Inn where borrowing a side saddle for Mary & a saddle for myself we proceeded on to Carlisle rather in doleful plight. we reached Forsters Inn²⁸⁹ & soon mustered up a carriage maker who we sent back with the two horses—& sat ourselves down to breakfast sufficiently prepared for it by the cold & fatigue of the morning— about 12 OClock our carriage, with Henry, the Servant, and carriage maker all returned, & a new axle tree is unanimously voted as necessary which will take us till noon tomorrow— the expedition of our journey is therefore converted into leisure for seeing this town—

The approach to Carlisle is very handsome abt 1½ miles from it we have a fine view of it seated in the middle of this fine valley & the houses are extended on all sides so as to give it a more important appearance even thap it merits— The College stands on a fine elevated eminence at some distance from the town & adds greatly to its importance— it was founded in [1783]—and called Dickinson College,—from John Dickinson of Wilmington then Governor of Pennsylvania who was one of its principal Donors— soon after its establishment the Revd. Doc^r [Charles] Nesbitt²⁹⁰ was invited from Scotland to preside over it which he did to his death in [1804]. and then Dr [Jeremiah] Attwater²⁹¹ from Vermont has been elected— in [1803] it was burnt down & has been since rebuilt from a design of Mr Latrobes.²⁹²— I am told it contains 60 or 70 students & has a good library & apparatus.—

Carlisle is a larger town than any we have seen except Lancaster & Pittsburgh it was founded in [1751]. & now contains abt. [] houses & [1159 in 1810] inhabitants— it is the seat of Justice for [Cumberland] County.

²⁸⁹ Forster's Inn at Carlisle was operated by Thomas Forster, who was also called Thomas Foster in the Census of 1800. *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, p. 85; U. S. Census of 1800, Borough of Carlisle, p. 109.

²⁹⁰ The Reverend Doctor Charles Nesbit, of Montrose, Scotland, served as the president of Dickinson College from 1784 until his death in 1804. Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 268-69; William H. Egle, *History of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1876), p. 629.

²⁹¹ Dr. Jeremiah Atwater was elected president of Dickinson College in 1809. Gilpin failed to mention the interim presidency of Dr. Robert Davidson from 1804 to 1809. *Ibid.*, p. 629.

²⁹² Benjamin Henry Latrobe was one of America's most celebrated architects until his death in 1820. He was also an engineer and consultant on steam engines. Carroll W. Pursell, Jr., *Early Stationary Steam Engines in America* (Washington, 1969), pp. 31-40, 62, 66; Paul F. Norton, "Latrobe and Old West at Dickinson College," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII (1951), pp. 125-32.

Octo. 18th.—last evening there supped with us a Mr. Ege,²⁹³ a German who is largely concerned in Iron works in this county—I think in 3 furnaces.— they are all on the side or near the foot of the South mountain— they are worked with charcoal—the ore is a stone & yields abt. 40 per cent [of iron].— the iron brings \$100 per ton in castings—the profit abt. \$15 per ton— the vein of iron ore does not seem to be thick— there is no bog ore in this vale nor any coal—

We walked to see Carlisle or rather Dickinson College—just outside the town having 8 acres of ground allotted to it— the building is of stone, nothing remarkable for any architectural beauty— Latrobe has given the front door or entrance and the windows of the lower story some little symptom of difference from the general monotony of such buildings in the UStates— but as he had the old foundations to work upon and I doubt not the fears of expense in the Directors he could do but little— inside the floors are laid & a few of the rooms plastered but all the principal rooms staircaises &c are unfinished which will probably be the case until the rest is rotten—this being the usual fate of such undertakings here—the funds at first collected being generally spent in erecting a large shell which is never finished— it was now vacation— of course we could see little even of what was to be seen in general— the library was locked up— none of the scholars lodge in the house the rooms not being finished—in fact the system for education seems as yet to be but poorly filled up.

The situation of Carlisle is level for a hilly country & that country expands itself finely around— the two ends of the street in which we lodge closes with views of the north & south mountain—the former much the nearest, apparently not more than 3 or 4 miles—the latter 6 or 8—the vale here being 10. to 12 miles in width.

Our carriage was finished by 2 OClock and after dinner we left Carlisle continuing thro the same vale— the South mountain continues 3 or 4 miles to our right and the north perhaps double the distance— of two roads which run to Harrisburgh we took that called Trimmels or Trimbels road as the most level— notwithstanding the rain it was a very good road except small hills with veins of limestone which run across it & forms knotty points or knobs to ascend—the country beautifully cultivated in fine farms & those points or knobs of limestone

²⁹³ Michael Ege was the owner of the Carlisle Iron Works, the Mount Holly Iron Works and the Cumberland Furnace. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, pp. 59, 191.

being scattered over the face and left in clumps of wood diversify it beautifully— the farm houses and barns are excellent being generally large brick or stone buildings— 6 or 7. miles from Carlisle it becomes more level, the points of limestone more rare & the soil more rich, indeed it is by far the finest part of the vale and one of the richest & finest countries I ever saw, meadows of great expanse being most agreeably mixed with fine corn land, & beautifully wooded— several roads cross the one we travel leading to different ferries on the river

The day was uncommonly fine, the sky without a cloud, & the air most agreeably cool— we reached the Susquehanna just about sunset and crossed it with the warm red sky of the evening shed over the scenery— the ferry is a business of great bustle a vast number of Waggons continually crossing with horsemen cattle &c— they generally take over 4 waggons in a boat but we prevailed on them to let us have a boat alone— it is pushed by 6 men with poles pointed with iron— the river is one beautiful sheet of water 1 mile wide, but in the middle are several Islands finely tufted with wood— the north mountain crosses the river or rather its ridge comes immediately to it & leaving a gap for the passage of the river immediately recommences on the east side & on both holds the entire uniformity of a high regular ridge abt. 6 or 8 miles above us, the south mountain crosses in the same manner but softens off towards the river being considerably less elevated and on the eastern shore it appears more in a continuation of broken hills than in an even ridge— here it takes the name of the Conewago hills from a creek of that name running on its southern side—as the Sweetara another Creek does on its northern—

We were half an hour crossing the ferry the whole river is now fordable from the lowness of the water, but the bottom is rocky & uneven, so that it is by no means agreeable— near the western shore & for one $\frac{1}{4}$ the distance across it is so low that the boats have not water to pass without throwing up an artificial dam or mound of rude stones which raises the water above a few inches & occasions a considerable ripple which frightened MG. [Mary] who did not know the nature of it & especially in the evening however we soon found the boatmen so expert that all our fears vanished & we reached a good Inn kept by Mr. Berryhill²⁹⁴ in the center of Harrisburgh— I sent

²⁹⁴ Alexander and Samuel Berryhill were listed among the citizens of Harrisburg who were active in trying to prevent the spread of yellow fever in 1795. Alexander was a juryman in 1785. "H. Napey's Harrisburg Directory," quoted in Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 285, 286; *First Census . . . 1790 . . . Pennsylvania*, pp. 86, 87.

soon afterwards for Joshua Elder Esq^r.²⁹⁵ who was formerly a Surveyor & surveyed part of our Indiana lands, but is now Prothonotary of this County (Dauphine) — he came & sat the evening with us—

Octo^r 19th. We rose early & before we sat out took a ride along the bank of the river & to see the town which has improved the most rapidly of almost [any] one in the UStates— the family of Harris were the original settlers of a large tract of land here & the ferry was always of consequence but the town was not laid out until 1785. & the houses have been built within 21 years.— it is now one of the largest in the state & contains 400 houses—most of them very good & some of them elegant. it stands on a fine plain elevated above the river, so as to be secure from all its freshes— the street along the river is very beautiful being 200 feet wide, & one side only built; the remainder left open for a Quay which is full of lumber & other productions of the Susquehanna. it is however not so much a depot as Columbia, the latter being on[ly] 73 miles from Philad^a. & Harrisburg 100, so that wheat, flour &c go chiefly to Columbia notwithstanding the rapids in the river— the main street of Harrisburg runs parrallel with the river but at some distance from it. it is better laid out than most of the towns we have seen having a long parrallelogram or if I may so term it square in the center 5 or 600 feet long & 300 wide in the middle of which is a large markett house— it was incorporated in [1791]. and has a Court house, Jail & several other public building being the seat of Justice of Dauphine County—so named after the last Dauphine of France—

We left Harrisburg abt. 8 & pursued our journey thro the same vale towards Reading—the South Mountain now called the Conewago hills on our right & the North mountain now called the Blue Ridge or Mountain on our left—about the same distance ascends as we have before noted— the Conewago hills remain more broken into seperate [sic] hills not maintaining that uniformity as a ridge—the Blue mountain remaining one even entire ridge— immediately at Harrisburg & perhaps for a mile the soil is not of limestone being very much of large pebbles and a mixed aggregate stone in which quartz & other primitive substances prevail— we soon however regain the same soil & ridges of limestone the country not altogether so rich as immediately on the other side the river, but still maintaining the excellent general

²⁹⁵ Joshua Elder was listed as the first prothonotary in the earliest session of the Dauphin County Court on May 3. 1785. He was a partner in the ironworks of Haldeman and Elder. *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286, 289.

character of the vale it is also more populous,—the houses & little villages being more frequent—our road evidently trends more to the south side and enters among the spurs of the southern hills as we find by having the ridges of limestone which appears uniform in the center of the valley more frequently interrupted on our route by those of the aggregate & other stones which compose the hills—the face of the country is also rather more hilly. ab^t 7 miles from Harrisburgh we cross the Sweetara²⁹⁶ by a ford— it is a beautiful even stream without any obstructions, ab^t. 40 yards wide

soon after we reach Hummells town²⁹⁷ a nice little town of ab^t. 60 houses—chiefly all Germans— indeed the settlement of the whole of this part of this valley is so entirely German that a few years ago little else was spoken & even now it is the language chiefly used by the people—the newspapers, almanac, advertisements sign boards being chiefly in German— the excellence of the buildings is remarkable, both in the town & on the farms & private as well as public, every town has one or more spires with [which] add great beauty to the country around— the number of Inns is also prodigious which denotes the vast travelling & intercourse of the country—

A few miles from Hummells town is Millers town,²⁹⁸ a village just laid out & as yet containing but few houses—

We cross several beautiful lively brooks of the utmost clearness running over pebbles of limestone, most of them are converted to the use of mills, this country tho a limestone valley, being plentifully supplied with water— on the Swetara near Hummells town is one of those remarkable caves²⁹⁹ usual in limestone countries.— it is on the bank of the stream & has been traversed for a considerable extent abounding in Stalactites.

Nine miles from Hummells town we forded the Quitapahilla,³⁰⁰ a branch of the Sweetara about 20 yards wide— ab^t 25 miles from Harrisburgh we reached Lebanon which is a large town with several very good houses— this town was settled in [1750] and contains [1434 in 1810] inhabitants chiefly German— here is one of the finest parts of

²⁹⁶ The Swatara Creek is a branch of the Susquehanna River.

²⁹⁷ Hummelstown, eight miles east of Harrisburg, was the center of a flourishing brownstone industry in the nineteenth century. Benjamin Olena, "An Historical Study of the Hummelstown Brownstone Industry," unpublished master's thesis, Millersville State College, 1965.

²⁹⁸ Millerstown was laid out by Daniel Miller in 1807 and settled by French Huguenots and Germans. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1859.

²⁹⁹ Indian Echo Cave.

³⁰⁰ The Quitipihilla Creek.

the Vale it appears very broad—rich & level— farms in this neighbourhood will sell at \$60. to \$80 per acre— we dined at Lebanon & after leaving it had a fine road over a very rich & level extent of lands to Myers town.—7 miles— this is the route of that Canal which was laid out to unite the trade of the Susquehanna with the Schuylkill & called the Susquehanna & Schuylkill Canal³⁰¹— the object was to bring the trade up the Sweetara & its branch the Quitapahilla as far as Lebanon & then to cut the canal from thence to the Tulpehocken a stream of the Schuylkill— this Canal was begun in [1792] but was soon discontinued for want of funds, it being begun in times of great speculation & used chiefly for that purpose there is also reason to believe that the original designers of it had not the necessary knowledge of works of the kind nor used the methods proper to ascertain the practicability of the route—as there is some reason to doubt, whether the supply of water is sufficient for the canal—& at any rate the river navigation of the Sweetara, Qu[i]tap[ah]illa, Tulpehocken, and Schuylkill is altogether too precarious & too obstructed ever to form a good route for navigation—

Before we reach Myers town we perceive from an eminence the course of the hills which have so long been our companions— our distance from the blue mountain is increased but it still holds its character, tho not so high as to the westward— looking southward— there is a large salient of the Conewago or South mountain which appears to have resumed its original heights & boldness for a long stretch of many miles— it maintains its character also in another respect that is of abounding in Iron as the numerous furnaces of Coleman,³⁰² Grub,³⁰³ & others stretched along its feet evidence—some of these have richer bodies of ore than any that are met with westward of the river—

³⁰¹ This canal had been envisioned by William Penn as a connection by water between the Susquehanna and Delaware valleys. The line was surveyed in 1762, and two companies were chartered by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1792. In the next two years they built fifteen miles of canal along the seventy-mile route and, having exhausted their funds, stopped work. Later the two companies were united, and the canal was renamed the Union Canal. Building was resumed in 1821 and completed in 1828. Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 417-19; Shank, "Pennsylvania Canals," pp. 66-67.

³⁰² Robert Coleman with whom Gilpin had conferred in Lancaster. See Notes 19 and 20.

³⁰³ Curtis, Henry, and Peter Grubb, Junior, were owners of ironworks in Lancaster and Lebanon counties, including the famous Cornwall Mine and furnaces. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, pp. 57, 58, 135, 139, 170, 189.

Octo^r. 20.

We left Myers town very early wishing to make a long journey.— the country continues of the same character & the roads as good for 7 miles to Womeldorff town,³⁰⁴ which is in name German enough for the banks of the Danube. it is in fact almost wholly a German town, & one of the oldest in the Valley— we breakfasted here & came on to Reading 14 miles— the more we approach eastward, the more populous seems the country— as we come near Reading we change in some degree the course of our road rather southward & have the South mountain direct in front on the opposite bank of the Schuylkill which here breaks thro it.— the appearance of Reading is very pleasing it stands stretched on a plain at the foot of the Mountain the houses & cultivated grounds climbing up and dotting the side—the top being cover[e]d with wood—the Schuylkill washing the foot of the hill & of the town.— the town itself is also large and prettily fitted up with 3 or 4 turrets spires &ca— we forded the Schuylkill which appears as wide as [at] Philad^a. but not deeper than our axle trees.— just above us are the abutments & piers of a bridge intended to be finished— they are of the chocolate or red colored stone sand stone which we noted in York county but which abounds on the east side of the south mountain—

We passed up the main street of Reading, which is very wide, perhaps 300 feet with the Court house & Markett in the middle.

The town is the capital of Berks county & in 1800 contained 600 houses & 2500 inhabitants, it was one of the manors or reservations of the Penn family which was laid out in lots in 178[3].³⁰⁵ & sold at very low prices since which property has risen immensely some of the lots which the Penns sold at £30. & £40 being now valued at \$4000 & \$5000— within the last 7 years the rise has been very great & it bids fair to become in a short time superior to Lancaster— its flo[u]rishi[n]g state seems to arise from its manufactures, its valuable trade by means of the Schuylkill to Philadelphia, & the rapid improvement of the country beyond it—and around it— There are several manufactures in Reading beyond those merely destined for the supply of the country— particularly Hats. there are said to be upwards of 40 master hatters & upwards of 35000 have been [made] annually— contiguous to the

³⁰⁴ Womelsdorf in Berks County was founded in 1762. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, p. 1798.

³⁰⁵ Reading was surveyed for the sale of building lots by Thomas and Richard Penn in 1748. The incorporation as a borough was in 1783, which is evidently the date Gilpin intended to supply. *Ibid.*, p. 1794.

town are also several mills—corn, saw mills & fulling mills— there are also in it 2 breweries—tanyards & a variety of other manufactures—these it seems [owe] very much to the industrious spirit of the Germans who early settled this Valley, almost from New York to the Susquehanna & beyond it & introduced the arts they brought with them from Germany which appear to have been at the time in higher perfection than those which were brought over by the English settlers themselves—

Reading being at the point where the Schulykill crosses the valley & affords an immediate source for all its trade is of course the point where it is collected for being embarked to Philadelphia— the Schuylkill is a beautiful stream from hence & tho it has some obstructions, many of these have been removed & more will be removed, its navigation downwards is good whenever the water is of a sufficient heighth, this is the case in the Autumn the Spring & often at all seasons during freshes. at present it is very low and at such times the produce is carried by land the waggonage being immense—besides regular waggons which ply from Philadelphia— at certain seasons the farmers avail themselves of leisure periods & put their teams on the roads— the season for sowing being now over & a leisure time occurring between this & the frost setting in, the whole country is alive with waggons, & every part of the road from Pittsburg hence we find them one of our greatest obstructions often meeting 30 to 40. per day— they are excellent teams with horses generally yielding to none I have ever seen especially, those who ply constantly— their general load is 2 tons but those who do not go the whole [way] often bring 3 tons—

In winter time the quantity of produce brought by Sleighs to Reading is immense upwards of 1000 loaded with wheat only have arrived there within a fortnight.— a large proportion of the wheat is bought up in the neighbourhood & to supply mills in its course there as the numerous little streams falling into the Schuylkill are all converted into manufactories—

We left Reading at 4 OClock—& soon mounted the South Mountain for the last time, having now to take leave of all our mountainous companions & steer a direct course along the banks of the Schuylkill to Philadelphia— we had nothing very formidable now in the passage over it as our road wound thro a pass & among a number of little hills which have evidently been broken from the general ridge by the passage of the Schuylkill when it appears at some period to have burst this barrier— among these hills are numerous little vallies meadows & farms delightful[ly] situated & finely cultivated—

I expected as the Schuylkill cuts all the several ridges of hills directly across that I should have an opportunity of examining minutely the different ridges of hills & the vallies as they pass across but I already find myself mistaken for the Schuylkill appears so much to have softened off the points of the hills that their direction is less easily marked than [their] structure— the river seems to have formed a vale for itself running across the others & very much blending them together

There seems to be a course of abt. 7. miles on this road, which is stony & hilly, & is evidently the pass of the South mountain—we have there a reddish soil with an argillaceous or slaty substrata—the whole course of our road winding up and down gentle hills, our right being generally fine meadow grounds to the bank of the river which is seldom $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from us.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of prospect, being at once a rich, elevated & broken country, the mountains having lost their uniformity of character & rising in numberless hills of various form—all around us—

Night closed upon us before we reached the white horse³⁰⁶—a very good Inn where we slept, before we reached it we crossed that ridge of hills which in Lancaster county is called the Copper mine hill & extends a great distance thro the continent— it seems every where to abound in copper ore—which in different parts has been worked—near this place there are now a sett of works in hand which however have not yet been carried into operation— these hills are also full of iron ore and this country both to our right & left seems the great region of those Iron works which have furnished such vast quantities to this State & gives it a great preeminence—

It should seem that if the vallies & hills all follow a NE & SW direction, that we should now cross the great valley of Pequea or Conestoga, but our whole route seems to be along a soil of entire difference in quality, we have no limestone which is the characteristic of that valley, our soil being wholly argillac[e]ous— I can only account for this by supposing that the Coppermine hill is a continuation of a hill which either rises at the head of the Conestoga valley—or that it is the one which crosses the Susquehannah below Columbia & follows our left thro York County, or that there are spurrs of the Cone-wago hills which cross over south of the Schuylkill & close up the Pequea & Conestoga valley— this seems most probable from the heads

³⁰⁶ The White Horse Inn was at Douglassville, a few miles west of Pottstown. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

of those two streams coming up near to the Schuylkill from which it must be separated by hills.

Octo 21. We found ourselves this morning in a beautiful country, close to the Schuylkill—a stretch of meadow, alone separating us— the bank of the river seems generally left open for perhaps an hundred feet & is probably covered by high freshes— it is all along fringed with noble trees particularly the Tulip tree, Button wood, Acacia, & oaks

We continue on the same reddish soil with argillac[e]ous or slaty substrata often interrupted by reddish sand stone in which pebbles are imbedded.— this forms the general building stone of the country & seems easily hewn, as many of the houses are very handsomely built of it— the country is every where delightfully rich, very populous & finely cultivated— it seems indeed a street of farms— 37 miles from Philadelphia we cross the [Manatawny Creek] by a fine stone bridge— & enter Pottsgrove³⁰⁷ which is on a considerable hill & here is evidently another ridge crossing the Schuylkill & running eastward—

Pottsgrove was originally founded by a respectable Quaker family of the name of Potts³⁰⁸ who were early settlers here and were among the first who carried on the iron works in this country— it is said that near here is another Copper mine— & it seems difficult to ascertain whether the ridge I have mentioned as crossing above or the present one is the hill called the Coppermine hill³⁰⁹—

We proceed 11 miles to an Inn called the Trap,³¹⁰ where we dined— the country continuing of the same reddish soil— with argillac[e]ous substrata— ab^t half way there appears evidently a very hard flinty stone similar to limestone— it seems scattered in a thin strata among the argillac[e]ous soil.— about the Trap the country appears less rich— however no part of this country has any other appearance than that of beauty, both in its general aspect, & improvement—

After dinner 11½ miles brought us to the Perkiomy³¹¹ Creek—a

³⁰⁷ Now Pottstown, but the Pottsgrove Mansion is preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and is open to visitors.

³⁰⁸ Thomas Potts was one of the earliest ironmasters in Pennsylvania. Pottsgrove Forge was built in 1752 by John Potts. This family was one of the most influential in the Pennsylvania iron industry. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture*, pp. 187-90; Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 500.

³⁰⁹ This doubt about the identity of the Copper Mine Hill location was supported by Reading Howell who showed it as ending much south of Gilpin's position. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

³¹⁰ Trappe is a village about ten miles east of Pottstown.

³¹¹ Although this branch of the Schuylkill appears on modern maps as the Perkiomen Creek, Howell also used the spelling Perkiomy. Howell, "Map of Pennsylvania," 1792.

beautiful stream, running straight for a considerable distance above & below so that we could see both up & down it— it is abt 50 yards wide [and] as regular as a canal except its banks [are] fringed with the finest trees.— the bridge over it is of hewn stone & would do credit to any country—

We now enter on the turnpike road³¹² which tho more level & substantial is not so agreeable its roughness jolting us very much— at the 22.d mile we ascend a high regular hill which appears the same ridge as that to the westward of Downings town valley on the Lancaster road— from its summit just above the 21 mile stone the view is extremely beautiful being over a vast extent of fine valley, richly cultivated, & intermingled with wood and at length terminated by the hills called Chesnut hills abt 9 miles north of Philadelphia— few scenes I ever saw exceeded this for beauty— the wood every where richly scattered over it, had now assumed all the fine tints of Autumn— the houses scattered among them gave animation to the view—& the hills were agreeably softened off— we also saw it under all the advantages of a fine mellow Autumnal sky.

We began now very gradually to descend—our reddish soil becomes in some degree interrupted, by veins of a light yellowish or earth colored argillaceous soil—

To our right on the banks of the Perkiomy where it joins the Schuylkill there has lately been found rich veins of lead ore mixed with Calamine— preparations are now making to work them— there seems every reason to believe that all these smaller ridges of hills are rich in minerals—

Evening brought us at the 18 mile stone to a most neat & comfortable Inn kept by one Thomas³¹³ & his wife both of them Quakers, where we found both a good supper & clean beds.

Octo. 22d—as this was the last day of our Journey & Sunday we prepared to shew both respect to the day and to our return by having our carriage horses &ca and ourselves really equipped, intending also to dine at Ury where we should probably meet some of our city friends— being thus prepared we started about 9 OClock & soon entered the Valley which is a continuation of the same we had crossed on our

³¹² On the turnpike they were twenty-two miles from Philadelphia. Distances were marked by milestones erected along the turnpikes.

³¹³ John Thomas, a Quaker, was one of the earliest settlers in Montgomery County, and the family continued as numerous and active participants in the county activities. Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 482.

outsett at Downings town. the strata gradually verges into limestone till at the 15 mile stone it becomes so altogether, & has a rich loamy soil over it—limekilns now become numerous as from hence the city of Philadelphia derives its chief supply, the stone is of two kinds a hard compact dirty white inclining to cream color and an opake blue stone— in the center of the Valley the veins of marble cross it which are nearly perpendicular and both white & variegated blue.— at [] miles we reach the Quarries formerly of Mr Hitner³¹⁴ & late of Mr Broome³¹⁵— here large quantities are dug up in very large blocks some of 15 to 20 feet long 2 thick & 6 or 7 wide in fact they may be obtained of almost any length & width the thickness only being determined by that of the Strata itself— these Quarries have been worked many years and the chasm is a ditch nearly perpendicular and 20 to 30 feet thick— it presents a busy and curious scene.— the veins of limestone do not appear to be more than 20 yards wide & are confined on each side by common limestone but they extend in lengths thro the country perhaps the whole extent of the valley as the same veins appear to be worked at many miles distance from each other on both sides the Schuylkill which crosses the vein— abt. the 12 & 13 miles stone the Quarries of limestone & limekilns are numerous, as from hence it is the nearest source to the City— shortly after the 11 MStone we begin to ascend the western side of Chesnut hill which is very long, at the foot of it we cross the Wissahiccon³¹⁶ a beautiful clear stream which falls into the Schuylkill a few miles below & has numerous mills upon it as we ascend the Chesnut ridge we begin to lose the limestone & to find that variety of aggregate stones which composes the ridge extending from hence to the city— the first we meet wi[t]h appears to be the muriatic stones which compose the soap stone & amianthus vein which are parrallel to the lime stone and appear to be of the same extent, chrystallized stones then appear in particular

³¹⁴ Daniel O. Hitner was an owner of the extensive marble quarries at Marble Hall. Stone from these quarries was used for many of the public buildings in Philadelphia and Norristown. In 1801 the stone was being cut by saws driven by water power. By 1830 there were three such sawmills at Norristown. Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 481, 498; J. Bennett Nolan, *The Schuylkill* (New Brunswick, 1951), pp. 148-49; Clifton S. Hunsicker, *Montgomery County, Pennsylvania: A History* (New York, 1923), I, 15-18.

³¹⁵ From 1795 to 1802 Jacob Broom was an industrial neighbor of Gilpin's paper works on the Brandywine. In the latter year Broom sold his cotton mill site to the DuPont Family. Perhaps it was this association which induced Gilpin's interest in the Broom quarries. Canby, *Brandywine*, pp. 137, 140, 142, 144.

³¹⁶ The Wissahiccon Creek flows through what is now Fairmount Park to its junction with the Schuylkill near City Line Bridge.

fine chrystallized Quartz— we have then mica—compact granite & afterwards a variety of softer stones in which mica, quartz, feldspar are mixed in various proportions— at the 9 M Stone we reach the top of Chesnut hill from whence the prospect is superbly beautiful extending westward over the valley we had traversed which is variegated with homes, farms, wood & rich cultivation— and on the eastward it extends to Philadelphia and beyond it bounded by the Delaware and the faint blue line of the Jersies— at Chesnut hill begins German-town³¹⁷ which is a long town of good stone houses extending for 4 miles & then with some intervening farms, is very thickly planted with Villas & houses to the city itself to which in many years it will probably be united by the present rapid spirit of improvement.

At Chesnut hill we struck off the road leading to the City and leaving on our [course] continued along the ridge or high ground of the hill, which we found generally composed of the same mixed or aggregate stones.—the valley undulating or wending into them in many places with its limestone— much of this ridge seems poor sandy & barren as it declines however on each side the country becomes more rich— on the west it tumbles by a quick descent into the Valley but on the east there seems a continuation of many parrallel ridges each in succession lower than the other until they are terminn[a]ted [*sic*] by the plain of Philadelphia itself— We found this road longer than we expected— We presumed on reaching Abingdon Meeting,³¹⁸ which is on the continuation of the same ridge but on our arrival found it broken up & all the people gone home— we then proceeded by a good & well known road to Ury where we found the family just sat down to dinner, and T Gilpin among them— we were soon satisfied & delighted with the account of our little family & afforded in turn gratification in the recital of our adventures— after dinner we sat off anxious finally to regain our home and the society of our little family, the evening brought us to them, around a cheerful fire.

³¹⁷ Germantown is now a section of Philadelphia but was originally a separate town founded in 1683 by a group of Germans led by Francis Daniel Pastorius. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 66-67.

³¹⁸ Abington (or Abingdon) Meeting was established in 1683 and a meetinghouse built near Jenkintown. Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 484, 502.

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